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ROYAL JORDANIAN

AMMAN, 30 DEC. '93—5 JAN. '94, VOLUME 4, NUMBER 38, 350 fils

اسبوعية سياسية مستقلة

From military giants to financial dwarfs



The World Paper

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Israelis, Palestinians fail to end impasse in Cairo

By a Star Staff Writer and combined news reports

CAIRO—Israeli and Palestinian negotiators ended three days of intensive negotiations in the Egyptian capital without breaking the deadlock over three crucial issues that have prevented the implementation of an agreement reached on 13 September. After meeting with Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak Wednesday, head of the Palestinian team, Mahmoud Abbas, told the press that negotiations will continue and that he will meet with Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres within a week.

Mr Peres, who headed the Israeli side, appeared optimistic and said the two sides had reached a draft agreement over Israeli withdrawal and the conflict issues which will be reviewed by the two leaderships. But PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat, who stopped in Cairo airport on Wednesday and met with Palestinian negotiators rejected Israeli proposals over the border crossing issue.

Mr Arafat is coming under increasing pressure to sacrifice the trappings of Palestinian statehood for a chance to make peace. The two negotiators who helped conclude the landmark secret peace talks in Oslo—Abbas for the PLO and Peres—were reunited Monday at the table and both sides appeared optimistic that the latest round of talks could clinch the so-far elusive goal of an agreement for Palestinian autonomy in Jericho and the Gaza Strip.

But by mid-day Wednesday it became apparent that the two sides had failed to make progress on the three main issues that have caused a delay in planned Israeli withdrawal from Gaza and Jericho on 13 December; namely control of border crossings, the size of the Jericho area and security for the Jewish settlements.

On Tuesday the PLO Executive Committee meeting in Tunis under Mr Arafat's chairmanship criticized Israel for the lack of progress on key issues including responsibility for the border crossings with Jordan and Egypt. Negotiators continued their sessions through Tuesday night, prompting the Israeli team to cancel plans to return to Israel on Tuesday evening and signaling a mood of cautious optimism.

Earlier in the day, the Israeli foreign minister emphasized that Israel is prepared to negotiate fairly with the Palestinians, as long as Israel's security concerns are met.

"We may have disagreements with the Palestinians," Peres told the press Tuesday. "But in fairness, I believe that they too, are interested in reaching an agreement, and as far as we are concerned, we shall respect their dignity and as much as we can, their aims."

Israel has long sought to deal with the two PLO officials with whom it concluded the Oslo agreement, Abbas and PLO financial chief Ahmed Suheiman Qre'i. But both men were pushed aside when Arafat intervened and handed the talks to other PLO officials, a process that left Abbas angry on the sidelines, privately criticizing Arafat for being unreasonable in his negotiating demands.

The return of Abbas and Qre'i to head the PLO delegation in Cairo this week signals the conclusion of a diplomatic process in which a number of intermediaries, including Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, have attempted to persuade Arafat to make more concessions, according to sources close to the talks.

The two primary snags in the talks—disputes over the size of the area around the West Bank town of Jericho to be controlled by the Palestinians, and who will control border crossings into Jordan and Egypt—have so far been a point of deadlock in part because Arafat has seen the issues as symbols of how much the Palestinians will control a homeland of their own.

The Israelis have repeatedly countered that they are negotiating not Palestinian statehood, but an interim five-year period of autonomy, after which the two sides will make a determination about the final status of the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. Arafat, under fire from Palestinian radicals and exiles who believe the "Gaza-Jericho first" agreement is a forfeiture of Palestinian national rights, has so far insisted that whatever agreement is signed produces a territory that Palestinians can in many respects call their own.

"It's no secret that Abu Mazen (Abbas) is unhappy with some of Arafat's positions," said one source close to the talks. "Arafat is under the influence of a hypothetical vision. He had been struggling all his life to liberate a piece of land called Palestine, to hoist a flag on it, to go in and out of Jerusalem freely. He's been promising his people all of this, as a prophet. So maybe he cannot be realistic."

The Israelis appear to have increased the size of the Jericho area they are willing to concede, perhaps to as much as 25 square miles, according to the semi-official Middle East News Agency. Until now, the Palestinians have been insisting on at least 72 square miles, and there are also disputes about linking the areas of Jericho under Palestinian control and access to the Dead Sea.

The two sides are also discussing possible compromise over control of international border posts and protection of Jewish settlements in the Gaza Strip. Sources close to the talks said Israel had come prepared to make some concessions on both points.



Business fights rearguard action on Sales Tax

By Christopher Hume
Special to The Star

WITH THE IMF's February deadline for the implementation of the Sales Tax rapidly approaching, the Government is inviting the private sector to last minute negotiations on the details of the proposed measure.

The Government's Economic Consultative Council established a special committee on 27 December to provide a forum for ministers and representatives of the industrial, commercial and service sectors to hammer the final form of the bill which will eventually go before Parliament. The move followed earlier unsuccessful attempts by Minister of Finance Mr Sammi Qamho to convince business leaders that their interests are not threatened by the Government's proposals.

Business leaders are fighting a rearguard action to win a selective imposition of the new tax rates. But with time running out, Government officials express some frustration at the business community's continued criticism of the draft legislation.

"They simply don't understand it," Director of the Customs Department, Mohammed Al Jammal told The Star.

Mr Qamho has argued that the Sales Tax will not impose extra burdens upon business or lead to higher retail prices. During his meeting with business leaders on 21 December he reiterated the claim that new tax will merely replace the existing consumption tax and correct imbalances within the current taxation framework.

Industrialists remain unconvinced. They say the Sales Tax legislation drafted by the Ministry of Finance and the Customs Department actually introduces new imbalances that will benefit imports at the expense of local manufactures.

"It's an extra tax that we have to pay," claims Mr Samir Magh, director of the Jordan Clothing Company.

Manufacturers fear that imported raw materials which do

But manufacturers also protest they will pay the new tax upon an invoice value which represents both their production costs and their profits, while traders appear to be winning their demand for imports to be assessed exclusive of either customs duties or profit margins.

Local producers also complain that the Sales Tax will be levied upon manufactures which do not currently pay the consumption tax. Ministerial assurances that tax will not be imposed upon medicines and other necessities have not, for example, silenced the protests of chemicals and pharmaceutical manufacturers that a range of products from anti-skeptics to insecticides will be taxed for the first time.

The Sales Tax is intended as a relatively neutral fiscal tool and new area of production will fall within its net. Protecting local industries is the function of customs duties, argues Mr Jamal, not of the Sales Tax.

He acknowledges that raising Treasury revenues is a long-term goal, but says the introduction of the tax in stages will lessen the immediate impact. The 1994 budget projects that revenue from the Sales Tax in its first year of application will exceed 1993 consumption tax receipts by only seven percent.

Nevertheless, at the meeting on 21 December even Mr Mohammed Asfour—chairman of the Federation of Chambers of Commerce and noted as an advocate of industrial protectionism

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'There is no element of trust between the Government and the private sector'

not currently pay consumption tax will in future carry a Sales Tax. By contrast, they argue, the consumption tax now levied upon imports of finished goods will be replaced by a Sales Tax at no extra cost to the importer. The effect, they maintain, will be to disadvantage local products.

Officials reject the claim that local producers will have to pay the tax twice. Manufacturers will simply deduct the Sales Tax they have paid on imported materials from their final tax assessment, says Mr Jamal.

Economic Community support

New jobs and exports for Gaza

AMMAN (Star)—Economic Community (EC), development projects in the Occupied Territories and the Gaza Strip will create at least 2500 jobs in 1993 and 1994. The programs cover all aspects of economic activity including housing, small scale industry, medium sized enterprises, agriculture and tourism, according to the EC Newsletter.

Activity in 1994 will be further expanded as allocations from the additional ECU 500 million in aid for the Occupied Territories following the PLO-Israel peace agreement are used to extend existing projects and to improve the social and economic infrastructure of the area.

EC Commission President Jacques Delors has made clear his belief that "the next months are decisive for the victory of peace."

Speaking at a joint press conference with PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat during the latter's recent visit to Brussels, Delors said that "when Arafat is settled in Jericho next January it is essential that his people will know that things are on the move."

Delors recalled that the ECU 90 million allocated by the EC immediately after the announcement of the PLO-Israel agreement was already in use in Gaza and the Jericho area although he recognized that the need for resources was infinitely greater.

Projects already underway include actions funded both from the ECU 90 million and from funds provided earlier by the EC in support of the Palestinians in the Occupied Territories.

The current Gaza Building Program of the Palestinian Housing Council will construct 576 apartments by mid-1995, along with 20 shops, offices and small flats suitable for the elderly or the disabled.



more tonnes of vegetables are expected to be exported over the coming months. Some 70 farmers have already received loans totalling \$135,000 for

This housing program will create 1,600 jobs in construction, building supervision and related supply industries, providing income to support over 11,000 people while the apartments will provide housing for over 4000 people.

European Community export finance facilities have already supplied over \$200,000 in credits for the export of tomatoes and potatoes from the Gaza Strip, while hundreds

inputs to support the growing of vegetables for export. The export programs will receive continuing support to allow for substantial growth in coming months.

The Gaza Export Program, backed by the EC, has been organized by a Gaza Export Board representing a network of agricultural organisations and efforts are being made to improve contacts with agents and shippers in the area and in Europe and North America.

The program has already helped to consolidate or create about 250 jobs and the current program will provide a total of about 1500 jobs, helping to provide income for about 10,500 people.

It costs about \$759 to create or consolidate a job in horticulture for one year while the comparative cost of one job in small business is about \$2,700 and construction about \$10,000.

Community aid is also being used to improve the infrastructure in the Gaza Strip and projects already under preparation cover solid waste disposal in Rafah and Gaza City and sewerage treatment and disposal in Gaza.

Deputies briefed on Jordan's economy

By Bilal Hijawi
Star Staff Writer

THE LOWER House of Parliament's Financial Committee met Monday with Central Bank Governor Dr Mohammad Al Nabulsi and other Government officials to be briefed on Jordanian economic issues. The meeting, held at the CBJ building, was attended by ministers of finance, planning and trade and industry.

Minister of Planning Dr Ziad Fariz told members of the committee that the JD 5 billion five-year economic development plan (1992-97) constituted a resumption of Government development planning after a period of repose. The plan gives the private sector a greater role in financing public expenditure in line with the Government's strategy to gradually shift to privatization. Dr Fariz said Government projections showed that the private sector will spend 65 percent of the JD 5 billion during the coming five years.

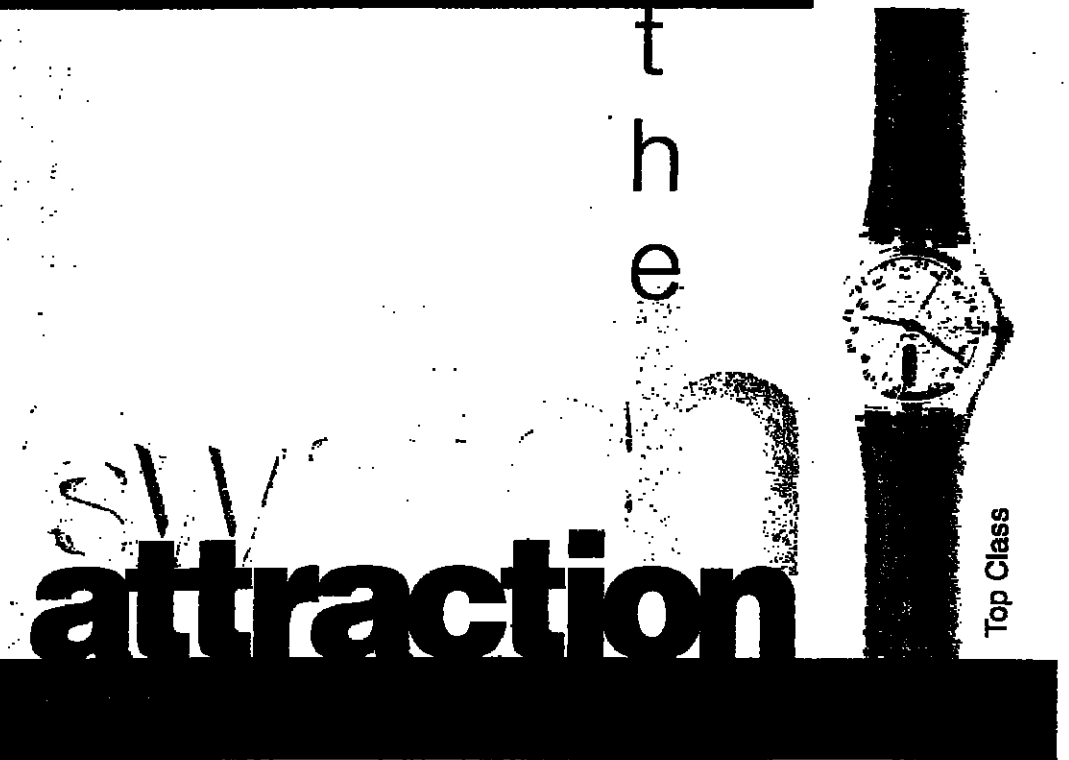
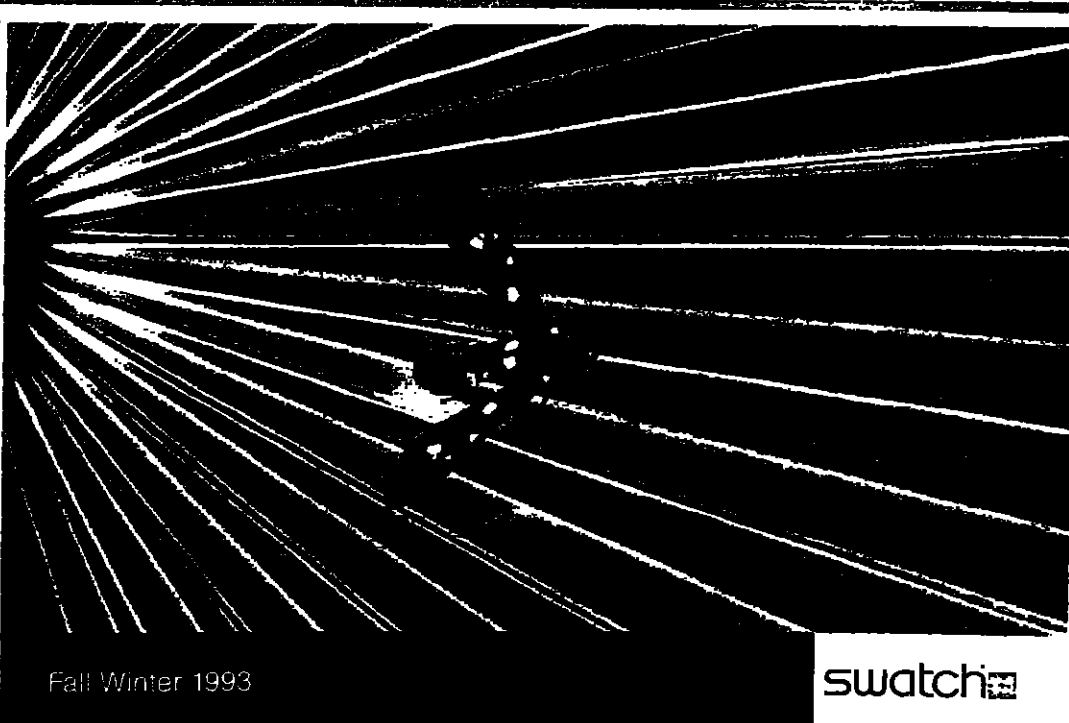
Speaking on the 1993-1998 economic structural adjustment program, Minister of Finance Sami Qamho said the rate of growth in Jordan's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in fixed prices for 1993 is projected at 6 percent. He added that GDP growth rate should not dip below a 5.5 percent average for the remaining period. Mr Qamho said the program includes projections for reducing the budgetary deficit to 6.4 percent of GDP for this year and 5.5 percent for the next year—not incorporating international annual aid. Mr Qamho added that the deficit should be gradually reduced to 2.5 percent by the end of the period in 1998. He said the 23 percent rate for domestic investments should be kept at that level annually until 1998 while the rate of domestic savings should climb up to 11 percent of GDP.

The deficit in Jordan's current account will be reduced gradually to 7.2 percent of GDP in 1994 and Government is working towards balancing the account by 1997. The Government's monetary poli-

cies should work on capping inflation at the current 4.5 percent rate. Government is intent on following a flexible interest rates policy while financial instruments stand to be developed further.

Working along the program's guidelines, which was formulated jointly with the guidance of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, will allow Jordan a better chance at rescheduling debt and applying for World Bank and other international loans. Jordan's creditor groups, the Paris and London Clubs, would only reschedule debt when given the green light by the IMF and the World Bank. Jordan is applying for a \$40 million energy loan through the World Bank and Japan.

Mr Qamho said maintaining a strong JD is linked to Jordan's success in balancing its \$400 million deficit in the balance of payments. Jordan has reached an agreement with creditor commercial banks in the London Club on 10 December that will reduce its debts burden.



JORDAN WEEK

An unconventional report on Jordanian news and views edited by Dr Marwan Al Asmar

Ministerial committee formed

The cabinet has ordered the formation of a new ministerial committee to coordinate between the Government and the Lower House of Parliament. The purpose of the committee is to bring the executive and legislative branches of Government closer together on important issues affecting the nation. The committee will be headed by Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Higher Education Dr Saeed Al Tal. Other members of the committee include the ministers of justice, information, religious affairs and supply. Ministers of state for foreign affairs and that of legal affairs will also be members.



Dr. Saeed Al Tal

give the go-ahead to a new publication called *Al Raseef* (Pavement). A political weekly, it will publish in Amman by Mr Mohammad Tumalich, who published the paper under a foreign licence before as a satirical weekly. It is very brave on the part of Mr Tumalich to start a new weekly especially when they are so many around and quite a number going out of business. Over the other side of the river in Bethlehem, the first English issue of the English-language edition *Al Mahd*, an Arabic newspaper, was published. *Al Mahd* first issues included interviews with Mayor of Bethlehem, Mr Elias Freij, the head of the Higher Tourism Council Mr Jamal Salamah and Father Julio of Bethlehem.

Bakery survey

A recent bakery survey conducted by the Ministry of Supply has found that there are 4821 workers in this sector. Only 2653 are Jordanians, while the rest 2168 or 45 percent are foreign. The highest number of Jordanians in this sector is in Irbid with a total of 750 workers, and the lowest with a total of four is in Karak against 141 foreign workers. In Balqa there was 119 Jordanians against 198, while in Zarqa it is 444 against 298, in Tafleeh it is 11 against 62, in Mafraq 47 against 40. In Amman, however, the survey found that only 543 Jordanians worked in bakeries as opposed to 1378 foreign workers. The survey found that there are 1022 bakeries in the country producing all sorts of bread. The survey found that only 89 percent of bakeries were registered to make and sell bread.

Haq: A new Palestinian party

The Arab Islamic Party *Haq* is the latest Palestinian political organization to be formed in the Occupied Territories and will have its headquarters in Jerusalem. While *Fatah* denies having any connection with the party,

nevertheless its grass-root affiliates in and outside the Occupied Territories are forming political organizations as a counterweight to face those against the Gaza-Jericho accord such as the Islamic Resistance Movement, *Hamas*. *Al Haq*, which will participate in the self-rule Palestinian government once the 13 September PLO-Israeli accord is implemented, has a full platform. The party espouses a liberal Islamic ideology, a combination of Arab and Islamic thought designed to counter religious extremism and to appeal to the broad mass of the people by offering a range of policies for the coming period. *Al Haq* works on four levels: Palestinian, Arab, Islamic and humanistic. The party believes that the source of power must be the nation, and the people have the right to choose their representatives who shall pass legislation that will coalesce with the Islamic *Sharia*. The party will work towards imbuing Arab and Islamic consciousness in the people. It will also work towards *Shura*, liberty and the respect of other people's opinion in the context of political pluralism and Islam and will try to back these by legislation. In the economic field the party believes in private enterprise as encouraged by Islam but with some public ownership. Only time will tell, however, if this party is a truly independent one or controlled by factions of the PLO—namely *Fatah*.

Citrus from the West Bank

The Agricultural Marketing Corp. (AMC), in cooperation with the Committee for the Entry of Products from the West Bank, originally allowed the entry of citrus fruits from the Nablus and Jericho areas into Jordan. Citrus growers in Nablus and Jericho expressed relief at this decision as it will take some of the burden off their shoulders. But on 19 December, the AMC disallowed their entry into Jordan saying that some were coming from other places, according to *Al Quds*. Although these places

were not mentioned by name it is clear that they are in Israel. But such a measure increases the burden on the citrus growers of Nablus and Jericho. The actual selling price of fruits in the West Bank is far lower than their actual cost of production and it was hoped that their export to Jordan would offset the cost.

Israel will not return antiquities

The Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA) said it would not turn over certain artifacts from the Occupied Territories to a future Palestinian governing council. The authority spokeswoman Ms Efrat Brown said Israel would keep any finds which were still under study, including the Dead Sea scrolls and remains from an area near Nablus. Israel and the Palestinians will negotiate an exchange of other antiquities she added. "The findings under research are still in the hands of Israeli researchers," she told *Reuters*. The IAA launched a massive search in the West Bank in November, criticized by the Israeli Archaeologists Society as a last-minute grab to keep archaeological finds out of Palestinian hands. Critics said the sweep was a violation of international law banning excavation in the Occupied Territories and would only harm their efforts to establish future cooperation with Palestinian archaeologists.

World Conference on Women

Her Royal Highness Princess Basma, Tuesday, received an invitation by UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali to serve as a member of the International Advisory Group in preparation for the Fourth World Conference on Women: Action for Equality, Development and Peace that will be held in Beijing, China from 4 to 15 September 1995. This invitation came in a letter by the Secretary General in which he states that "Preparations are under way at the national and regional levels to review and appraise the implementation of the

Does anyone go to Europe to celebrate the New Year with his wife?



Princess Basma

Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategy for the Advancement of Women which were adopted at the 1985 World Conference. In the light of these appraisals the conference is expected to adopt a platform for concrete action to overcome remaining obstacles in critical areas of concern. These include the feminization of poverty, the lack of participation of women in decision-making at all levels, the effects of conflict on women, and violence against women in society."

Dr Boutros-Ghali further stated "In order to support the objectives of the conference and elicit the widest possible range of innovative ideas on the issues to be addressed, I am establishing an International Advisory Group of eminent persons to advise me during the preparatory process."

In addressing Her Royal Highness, Dr Boutros-Ghali wrote, "I am pleased to invite you to serve as a member of the Advisory Group and would greatly value your participation in this impor-

tant effort. Your experience and your interest and commitment would enable you to make an important contribution."

Her Royal Highness is the chairperson of the Jordanian National Committee for Women and is the head of the Jordanian public and private sector delegations to the Beijing Conference.

The Jordanian National Committee for women conducted in 1992/93 a number of regional meetings and seminars in urban, rural and Bedouin areas from which the National Strategy for Women emerged that will serve as the official Jordanian document for the conference.

Membership on the Advisory Committee is Her Royal High-

ness Princess Basma's second official UN assignment, after being appointed to serve as an Honorary Human Development Ambassador by the United Nations Development Programme in May this year.

Worldnet holds TV dialogue

On Monday, 3 January the United States Information Service (USIS) is holding a "Worldnet TV dialogue via satellite with General John Shalikashvili, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, on "Global Security Issues," between 2:30 and 3:30 pm at the USIS auditorium, at the American Embassy in Amman.

Participants from Warsaw, Prague, Paris and Bonn will be discussing partnership for the peace initiative, the upcoming NATO summit and US-European security relations with General Shalikashvili.

For the Record

By Ahmad Shaker

The draft Teachers' Association Law will be sent back to the Higher Council for the Constitution so that the it can decide on the constitutionality of the legislation.

The Jordan Cement Factories Co. has announced a JD 11 million in profits for this year, an increase of JD 1 million from last year.

The Government has received confirmation from the Egyptian government agreeing to hold a meeting for the Joint Economic Jordanian-Egyptian Committee at the level of economy ministers. The meeting will be held in Cairo in February. The meeting will recommend a date for the convening of the Joint Jordanian-Egyptian Higher Committee at the level of prime ministers.

A meeting between His Majesty King Hussein and Syrian President Hafez Assad is expected to take place during the first two weeks of January in Damascus, few days before a planned meeting between President Assad and US President Bill Clinton in Geneva. Syrian Foreign Minister Mr Farouq Shara was in Amman this week to hand King Hussein a letter from President Assad.

Ministry of Transport sources have said that Aqaba Port fees will be lowered in order to encourage neighboring countries to use the port.

Senior UN position to champion human rights

By Ben Wedeman, Special to The Star

HUMAN RIGHTS were given a significant push forward last week when the United Nations General Assembly unanimously approved the creation of the post of High Commissioner for Human Rights.

This new position, recommended by Amnesty International in a draft resolution at last summer's human rights convention in Geneva, will enjoy unprecedented and wide-ranging powers to ensure that human rights are respected by signatories to the International Convention on Human Rights. The UN passed the international convention following the last human rights meeting in Tehran, 25 years ago.

Last week's resolution entitles the UN Secretary General to appoint a high commissioner for human rights for an initial period of four years, renewable for another four.

"This is a huge step forward," Muhammad Mulhim, Chairman of Amnesty International's Jordan Section, told *The Star*. According to Mulhim, the new high commissioner will have the unenviable task of "approaching each and every government about the [human rights] conventions they have ratified and to investigate what steps they have taken to implement the conventions." It will also be his job to persuade non-signatory governments to adopt the conventions.

Will the position of human rights high commissioner be yet another high-paying job in an already swollen, costly—and often ineffective—international bureaucracy? Ensuring the protection of human rights is a "moral priority," Mulhim said, adding that the UN presently spends only one percent of its budget on human rights matters.

The seniority of the new position, which will have the rank of assistant secretary general, indicates a new seriousness about human rights issues at the UN.

Mulhim readily acknowledges that many signatory countries have dismal compliance records, and there is little the UN can do directly to enforce compliance.

"The UN doesn't have its own police force," he said. "Yet the Security Council has 'passed certain resolutions empowering the UN to implement resolutions,' he said. A good example of such a move was the allied action against Iraq following the invasion and occupation of Kuwait in August 1990. The Security Council 'could empower the high commissioner with ample authority to implement these [human rights] agreements.'"

Mulhim believes that the scope of the high commissioner will complement the work of non-governmental human rights organizations such as Amnesty International. "The high commissioner will have an official capacity and can do a lot more than Amnesty International, if he is

granted the right authority," he told *The Star*.

Based in Geneva, the high commissioner will head the already existing UN Human Rights Commission. One of the first tasks of the new commissioner will be to broaden the commission's authority and duties.

Mulhim believes promotion of the new human rights position couldn't have come at a more important time. "We feel [human] rights have a meaning and should be completely implemented, especially these days when we witness violations in many countries."

Mulhim notes that the overall compliance situation is not good. "Violations are dreadful, and many countries do not cooperate." Others countries take advantage of the fact that they are signatories, but have fallen far short in implementation. In some regions a system to guarantee human rights is in place, but in others it simply doesn't exist. "Hopefully," Mulhim told *The Star*, the new senior human rights position "will fill the gap."

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Business fights rearguard action on Sales Tax

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—expressed concern that the draft law might serve as a disincentive to productive investment in the local economy.

However, opposition to a Sales Tax is not as deep-seated as the volume of protest might suggest. The existing consumption tax has inspired little affection, and given that the Government must raise revenue from somewhere, most business people accept that a value added tax system is a reasonable way to proceed.

"Once the cycle is completed

with a value added tax concept then it is fair," argues Mr Emad El Shamma, general manager of the Jordan Spinning and Weaving Company.

Introducing a receipt-based tax directly into an economy where most small traders and retailers maintain only rudimentary books is not a realistic proposition. But as an intermediary stage—and Mr Jamal is clear that the Sales Tax must be viewed as "one step towards VAT"—the Sales Tax threatens to throw up various

anomalies.

The draft law proposes, for instance, that only manufacturers with annual sales exceeding JD 200,000 will be registered for payment of the tax. The exact figure is still under discussion but there will be charges of injustice whatever cut-off point is ultimately chosen. There are already grumblings of "foul play" from those with larger turnovers.

The actual rates of taxation will not be known until the Ministry publishes a separate schedule. The draft law reserves for the minister the power to issue new tax schedules by order.

Mr Qamoo has promised a ceiling of 20 percent, but business leaders are uncomfortable that the minister will be free to alter the tax rates whenever it sees fit. Nor are they happy with the draft proposal that the expansion of the tax to the service sec-

tor and its ultimate development as a value added tax will be effected by ministerial decree rather than additional legislation.

In fact, the executive powers reserved by the Government provoke almost as much protest as the prospect of increased tax demands.

"It's all surprises," claims Mr Maqsood. "We would rather know what it is in advance and prepare for it."

"You get a bang on the head and then you find out something has happened," says Mr Anis Al Muehser, head of the Scientific and Medical Supplies Co.

The latest Government move to engage the private sector in additional consultations is unlikely to satisfy a business community that is acutely wary of Government fiscal policy and which believes that productive enterprise is being taxed to support a bloated and inefficient state sector.

On questions of taxation, admits Karim Kawa, general manager of Ideal Systems computer dealers, "there is no element of trust between the Government and the private sector."

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People & Politics

Pharmacists: Victims of their own law

As the economy sinks deeper into the reeking waters of recession, the Government appears to be the party responsible for pushing some sectors into the quagmire. Take the confrontation between the Ministry of Health and the Pharmacists' Association for example. As of 1 January, the ministry will close down any pharmacy whose owner is not fully dedicated to managing it. The association estimates that as much as 300 pharmacies could be at risk. The ministry says it is only implementing a 1972 law that states that pharmacy licenses will only be given to licensed pharmacists who are fully available and practicing in their pharmacies. A 1992 Supreme Court ruling turned down a case by the association to contest the meaning of paragraph 12 of that law. But the association claims that since 1972, the ministry has been handing out licenses without implementing that paragraph. Minister of Health, Dr Abdel Rahim Malhas, says he can't violate the law by not implementing it. Association President Husam Al Din Mismar, who met with Prime Minister Dr Abdel Salam Majali, says the prime minister showed understanding. But nothing can be done until the association law is amended. The association will meet on 3 January to approve amendments, but no one knows how long it will be before the amendments are approved by the Lower House and take effect. But definitely it will be too late for the hundreds of pharmacists who will have to close down their pharmacies or leave their other occupations in order to take responsibility for running their pharmacies if the Government takes action on 1 January. The association, which has asked for a delay, says most of those who own pharmacies but do not run them are living in the Gulf and will lose money if they break their contracts there. Others are working for the Ministry of Health or at universities and colleges and stand to lose if the law is enforced. In addition, all of the affected pharmacies employ licensed pharmacists who also stand to lose their jobs if the owners come back to run their pharmacies. The least that can be said until now is that the ministry has been unsympathetic to the pharmacists' cause. Upholding the law is a must, but the executive branch has other duties, like maintaining the growth and security of various economic sectors—especially in these difficult times.

Banning commercials: Mind your language?

Another case of shooting oneself in the foot is that of JTV's decision to ban commercials in other than classical or Jordanian accents. The commercial dept. of the station has given advertising agents until the end of 1993, after which no commercial that contains colloquial Egyptian, Syrian or any other dialect is accepted. The funny thing about the whole issue is JTV's motive, and that is to encourage the use of classical or Jordanian Arabic. Almost all agents and advertisers are fighting the decision, not because they are against classical Arabic, but because most of their commercials will look and sound silly if classical Arabic was used. As a result they say they will direct their ads to the print media and to neighboring TV stations like Syria. It is our guess that JTV will win in the end. But the question that comes to mind, and was raised by Dr Fahd Al Faneh the *Al Rai* daily columnist, is who appointed the commercial dept. at JTV to champion the cause of the Arabic language? And then if JTV is so keen on quality, Dr Faneh adds, why not start with its own programming and take some of the bedouin and Egyptian soap operas off the air for starters?

IAF elections: Unexpected results

The Islamic Action Front (IAF) council elections this week produced some unexpected results one of which was the election of a woman, the first to be elected in the history of Islamic political action in Jordan. The winning of Mrs Nawal Faour in the sixth district leaves no doubt that 1993 was indeed the year of Jordanian women in politics. Mrs Toujan Faisal was the first woman in Jordanian history to get elected to the Lower House in the 8 November elections. The IAF's elections also witnessed the loss of some prominent figures in the IAF and the Muslim Brotherhood such as deputy Abdel Mun'im Abu Zant, Dr Ali Hawamdeh and Mohammad Khreisat among others. It was noted that younger figures have also scored for the first time. Elections for the post of general secretary and a 16-member executive council will take place on Friday. In a press conference this week IAF General Secretary Dr Isahq Al Farhan announced the final results for the elections which covered the Kingdom, with the exception of Aqaba where the elections were postponed. In another event, the Muslim Brotherhood movement decided to fire from its ranks Mr Ziad Abu Ghaneima who resigned last week. The IAF also announced that it will take similar action. Mr Abu Ghaneima is out of Jordan and will be questioned about his behavior by the IAF when he returns. Mr Abu Ghaneima clashed with fellow members recently over his articles on the IAF and the Muslim Brotherhood in which he criticized the two movements tactics during the last Parliamentary elections.

Palestine constitution: We the people...

The draft Palestine constitution, as published by *Al Rai*, is a progressive legislation in most of its aspects. The draft constitution, which will be approved by the PLO's Executive Committee soon, will be endorsed as Law No. 1 of the Palestine Authority during the transitional period. The constitution, which will be implemented during the interim period, considers the Palestinian people the source of the three branches of government: executive, legislative and judicial. The National Authority Government will be responsible for legislation until the election of a Legislative Council. Under the constitution, the chairman of the Executive Committee of the PLO is the head of the executive branch and will serve a five-year term and will not be allowed to serve more than two consecutive terms. The president, who is also the supreme commander of the Palestine security forces, will appoint a deputy who will take over if the president becomes incapacitated. The president will head a council which will be named the National Authority Government. The government will run the daily affairs of the country through various departments. Under the constitution, a bureau of legislation will be formed to prepare draft laws. The entity that will be governed by this constitution will be divided into administrative units each of which will have an elected popular council. All loans and credits will be made by law and a financial audit bureau will be formed to monitor all the levying of taxes and public spending in accordance with an annual budget. A law will regulate the operation of banks. The constitution guarantees the total independence of the judiciary, and it recognizes the basic human rights and all freedoms incorporated in the International Declaration of Human Rights and all international treaties regarding civil, cultural, economic and social rights of man. The constitution affirms the right to life and bans the death penalty and all forms of torture and inhuman treatment. The constitution guarantees freedom of thought, creed and religion and prohibits discrimination in all forms. It guarantees the freedom to form political parties, the press and media while it prohibits censorship but allows it in national emergencies. The constitution also guarantees the supremacy of law. It considers Arabic as the official language but allows for other languages to be adopted as state languages.



His Majesty King Hussein held talks with the Syrian Foreign Minister Mr Froug Al Sharaa, Monday. The meeting was attended by his Royal Highness Crown Prince Hassan. Mr Sharaa delivered a message from President Hafez Al Asad to His Majesty King Hussein about Jordanian-Syrian coordination in the Middle East peace process. In the meeting that took place at the Royal Palace Mr Sharaa exchanged views on various regional and international issues and the latest development in the peace process affirming the importance of continued Arab coordination with the aim of regaining Arab rights and achieving a just, comprehensive and lasting peace.

Asad Abdul-Rahman:

'We are talking about an end to occupation'

EDITOR'S NOTE: Dr Asad Abdul-Rahman is the director-general of the Abdul Hameed Shoman Foundation. He is also a professor of political science at the University of Jordan, a writer and a commentator on Palestinian affairs. As well as his books on the Palestinian Intifada, he is a regular contributor to *Ad Dustour*, the London-based *Al Quds Al Arabi* and *Al Hayat* newspapers. He has taught at the University of Kuwait in the 1970s and at the University of Calgary in Canada between 1970-73 where he was also awarded his doctorate in political science. He is a member of the newly-founded Palestinian Independent Commission for Human Rights and the Arab Organization for Human Rights. He spoke to *The Star*'s Dr Marwan Asmar on the latest developments on the Palestinian-Israeli scene. *Editor's note follows.*

Is the PLO-Israeli accord in trouble? Definitely it is in trouble, but I do not want to exaggerate that, because what is happening, though in so many ways disappointing, should be seen in its proper perspective. I never shared the extreme optimism that some expressed when the accord was first signed, nor was I extremely pessimistic. I am not very happy with what is happening now and would have liked to have a smoother process, though initially I did not anticipate an easy delivery process. Today, however, such a process has proven more difficult, maybe we need a caesarian.

What do you mean? A caesarian whereby the peace process needs to be helped by courageous decisions on the part of the famous hesitant Rabin; if he needs any encouragement from the West, particularly from the US, this encouragement should come to make him less hesitant and to carry on with the peace process. I know that he encountered all sorts of problems mainly because of the strong institutional Israeli opposition, but after all Dr Klerk had the same problem and he managed because he was not hesitant, because he had vision, and any leader who has vision should follow it to the end. I hope he would have the same decisive attitude as that of Shimon Peres, or other groups like Meretz.

Do you think the PLO can offer more concessions to make him less hesitant? What concessions can the PLO offer? The issue now is whether we should accept occupation in reality with some cosmetics, or we should be liberated from occupation; in other words I do not believe that the PLO or President Arafat can afford to make any more concessions, unless even think of any other concessions, unless these would be tantamount to accepting occupation with cosmetics.

But isn't autonomy a long way from independence... Yes, but the accord as it was explained to us is supposed to be based on UN resolutions 242 and 338. I agree that the accord is full of vague and elastic sentences and articles, but the basics are very clear and that is the implementation of 242 is the framework of reference. These resolutions call for an end of occupation, totally different from self rule, and we hope that many Israeli politicians would understand that; we understood from Mr Baker [previous US secretary

of state], something between autonomy and a state is going to be established in the interim period; ultimately you are going to end up with a kind of a state, may be a state without any teeth, may be a state that would be accommodating enough as one would expect from a general comprehensive peace process that would provide an umbrella for the whole area; but I mean nobody, not even the Israelis except the Likud, think about full autonomy as the end process.

So what are we talking about? We are talking about an end to occupation, we are talking about Gaza-Jericho first, in the sense that the Palestinians would have control which would be tantamount to independence in these areas whereby after few months they would start extending their influence throughout the interim period to control the rest of the Occupied Territories. Issues like settlements and Jerusalem are to be discussed at the end of the process—that is quite understandable—but it is clear from the accord that there is a great amount of control by the PLO on the Gaza Strip and Jericho and then gradual control and self rule over the other parts.

Some people might say that this is a Palestinian interpretation and not an Israeli one. Do you agree? The Palestinian interpretation is talking about a full-fledged state; I am talking as a political scientist and not necessarily as a Palestinian. From what I could gather about the basic points, I know there are very vague elastic paragraphs, but I mean what it boils down to is the implementation of 242 and 338; and there is no doubt about it, this is not the Palestinian point of view, because the Palestinians could ask for more than that—the partition of 1947, resolution 181; I think from my own readings of the accord that is what will have to be implemented.

Looking back at the accord, do you think the PLO made a mistake? Did the PLO have a choice at the time? Really, I do not think any Arab political system, including the PLO, had a choice. I think we are all being driven with various degrees into the peace process, including Israel. I do not think Mr Shamir would have gone to Madrid had he not been pushed. Yes, the balance of power is tipped immensely in favor of Israel and that is why we are getting what we are getting. But neither the PLO nor any other Arab state has had any choice in any of the accords it is going to sign—they could on certain margins add or subtract. Let us face it, the accords will have to reflect the balance of power and hence is a reflection of a pan-Arab defeat in its confrontation with Israel and should be seen in that light. This accord was the worst offered to the Palestinians since 1939. But my question remains had we not accepted, which Arab leader can assure us that five or 10 years from now

we will not accept something worse.

You said everybody was pushed...but who pushed Israel, was it the Americans? With Israel, there were all kinds of pushing factors into going to Madrid and the peace process. I think the Israeli internal situation pushed them because if Mr Rabin did not distinguish himself from Likud by adopting what he has declared in his own political platform and electoral campaign, then the Labor party and Mr Rabin would have been doomed. That is the Israeli factor.

The Palestinian factor, as Shimon Peres said in his own memoirs, what pushed the Israelis into going to Madrid and into the accord is what appeared to be the disintegration of the PLO, and he said if that happens, then who are we going to talk to? The only group that has credibility and can deliver in the name of the Palestinians is the PLO.



Asad Abdul-Rahman

are ones had been pushing the Israeli leadership into finding a solution; whereby Israel can benefit from the tipped balance of power in its favor and finally put it on the map of the Middle East in a safe way. Because there is no guarantee, 10 years from now, that Israelis will be faced with another "Saddam Hussein", or with another Khomeini...many Western Zionists, Jewish Zionists and supporters of Israel see this as a chance that Israel should not really evade.

Public support for the accord is dwindling. Why? It is expected, because nothing happened on the ground yet. People have not seen any changes. When people supported the accord, they did so as a means for ending occupation, as a means for improving their situation, of stopping the killings, and of releasing the prisoners. I have just come from the Occupied Territories after being away for 30 years; I have not met anyone there who said that there was any difference—the only difference is that the Israelis allow them to raise some flags and to open offices under the name of the PLO; but anything material or

tangible has not really materialized. So in such conditions it is quite natural for the support to dwindle. But we have to understand that public opinion is like a pendulum, once you see achievements the support will increase, once you see disappointments public opinion falls. Depending on what happens in the future and if concrete developments take place—like the release of prisoners, Israeli withdrawal from Gaza and Jericho, the Palestinian national police force starting to put an end to the chaos and starting the process of building up the country—then public opinion will change and support will skyrocket.

Do you think Israeli withdrawal is an imminent? Ultimately yes, the Israelis would have to withdraw and I anticipate quite soon, I hope this is not wishful thinking; I hope I am correct in my own analyses; there are many forces in Israel, on the regional Arab arena and on the international arena, who are really pushing in that direction. What gives me this gut feeling is that I believe one has to read very well what happened after the failure of the latest Rabin-Arafat summit. People could tell how concerned everybody was; that is why we had an Oslo meeting, we had a Versailles meeting, a Moroccan meeting and several Tunis meetings—all that happened almost simultaneously and within one week. If that shows anything, it shows that everybody is concerned; all those who signed the accord whether the Israelis or the Palestinians are in the same boat and if one sinks the other will sink too; that's why now they have a mutual self-interest in having the process succeed and part of the success is the Israeli withdrawal, that's why I believe it is coming.

Is Arafat in trouble with the PLO because of his style of leadership? In trouble, no. But he's got some nuisance here and there, yes. But I mean the man has grown accustomed and immunized in this sense but let me qualify this. Mr Arafat is very much aware of the pressures, not the internal Palestinian pressures, because they are not yet in my opinion very effective, but he is a very flexible politician and is a national leader who encourages himself as the father of all. That's why I think he will carry on with some compromises as he has already done, whereby he would accommodate his colleagues first; but the actual pressures that really matter and are really annoying and causing trouble to President Arafat is the ones coming from the donating countries. They are more or less making their donations conditional saying that we would like to see that happen. We would like to see that happen. But I don't believe that these pressures will have a negative outcome; pressures in general whether external or internal—if they are well intentioned—then they are helpful, and I think President Arafat will know how to deal with them in the positive sense, ultimately.

I know about the external pressure, but I am talking about the internal ones. Last week for example, about a 100 leading Palestinians signed a statement demanding that Arafat introduce reform... I am not underestimating those who signed the statement, but it is not effective yet, and such opposition stems really out of loyalty to Arafat; from what I know is that this opposition is not

Business Chronicle

Edited by Bilal Hijawi

TCC: Ambitious plans for 1993-1997

The Jordan Telecommunications Corp. (TCC) plans to expand its telephone services in Abu Alanda, Sahab, Tabarboor, Abdali, Umm Nwara, New Baqaa, Nauor, Juweideh, Amir Ali, Yaddouh and Zerga. This comes in the light of the recent 1993 revenues of the TCC estimated at JD 116 million. The TCC is studying an ambitious plan to add 280,000 telephone lines by 1997 at a cost of JD 205 million, according to the TCC's Director General Mr Ahmed Nowawi. On the regional front, Jordan will build another telecommunications station to link it to the Syrian marine cable to improve its international calls. Jordan is also expected to participate in building the Syria-Cyprus fiber-optic line in a bid to improve its international communications. Mr Nowawi says that the TCC is also developing Jordan's southern telephone network and enhancing the country's telecommunications link with Saudi Arabia and Egypt by laying down a fiber optic line to the former country and a digital microwave to the latter one. These developments will benefit Amman's telephone exchanges and expand the telephone services offered. TCC is currently laying down a telephone grid in Mafraq adding 12,544 lines to service the 90 urban centers in the governorate. The TCC said a tender soliciting bids for installing a cellular telephone network will bring the private sector into these projects. The company which secures the bid will be expected to manage the cellular telephone service for the next 15 years. If demand for cellular telephones overrode supply after five years, Mr Nowawi said the TCC will allow another company to develop another cellular network in Jordan.

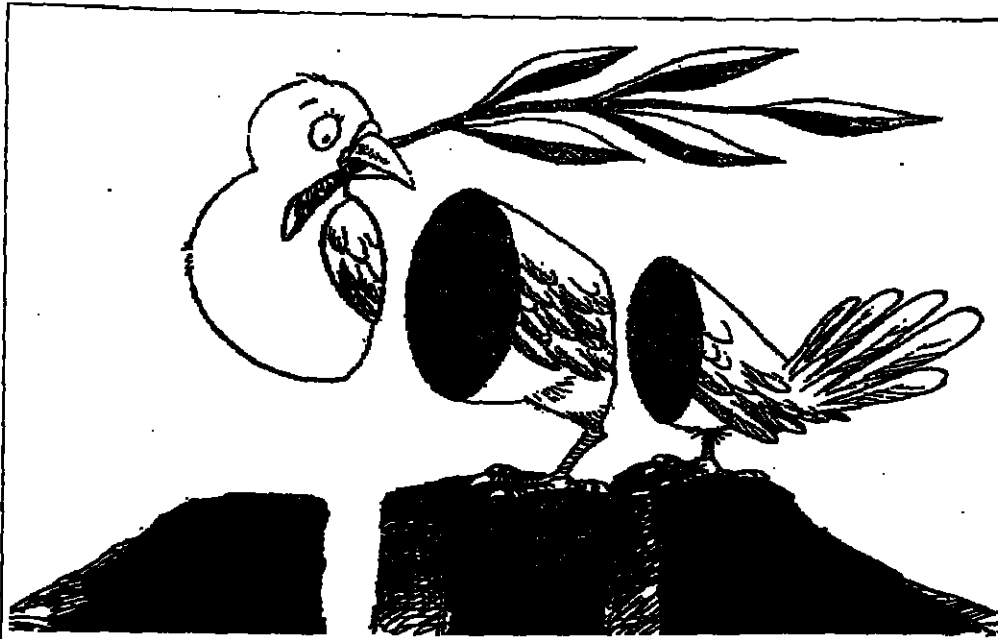
Gauging Palestinian feelings!

Four polls were undertaken by the Palestinian Center for Research and Studies in the Occupied Territories to measure Palestinian public opinion regarding the Gaza-Jericho Agreement of 13 September, the elections for the Self-Rule Council and the issue of Jordanian-Palestinian confederation. The first poll was conducted in September, while the second and third in October and November. The fourth was conducted on 12 December and questioned 1137 Palestinians. The results of the fourth poll indicated a sharp decline in public support for the Gaza-Jericho accord. A number of reasons account for this such as the worsening daily developments on the Occupied Territories that may have influenced the reactions of respondents. The fourth poll, was conducted a day before the Israeli army was supposed to start withdrawing from the self-rule areas. The leaked news of 'no-withdrawal' on 13 December might have also influenced respondent's reactions. The attacks by settlers against Palestinians may have had a negative impact on reactions. The poll also showed public opinion to be divided—while 41.5 percent supported the agreement, a significant 38 percent rejected it, an increase of 10 percent from the last poll. The supporters of the agreement dropped by 23 percent compared to the first poll of September. About 20 percent of those interviewed displayed a sense of hopelessness. Among all Palestinian political groups, support for the agreement witnessed a strong downturn, but *Fatah* supporters, about 75 percent of which remained faithful, dropped by 16 percent. Also, more than 17 percent of *Fatah* supporters were now not sure of their position on the agreement. The highest disapproval of the agreement came, however, from independents and among *Hizb Al Shabb* (People's Party). A close correlation was evident between the respondent's position on the agreement and his educational background. Respondents with higher educational attainment showed more support for the deal than those with low educational attainment. A higher rate of disapproval also came from the 18-25 age group... About 71 percent, agreed that there should be elections for the self-rule council. However, last October's poll found less support for this process; about 66 percent supported such elections but only 13 percent approved PLO appointments for the council. Only 32 percent believed that the newly formed Palestinian police force should use its power to quell opposition to the agreement. However 50 percent believed that reasonable force should be used to safe against violence and chaos. The poll showed that about 50 percent of Palestinians in the Occupied Territories support the creation of an independent Palestinian entity. Support for an independent state was more evident among Gazans—about 63.8 percent. Confederation with Jordan received only a 26 percent approval among Palestinians. What was also evident is that the older the respondents, the higher the support for confederation with Jordan. The 18-25 age group showed less support—21 percent—for confederation, increasing to 43 percent for the over 50 age group. The idea of an Israeli-Palestinian-Jordanian confederation received the least support—less than 8 percent approved the tripartite scenario.

institutionalized yet, and once you don't have a real institutionalized opposition, there is always easy ways and means of controlling it. That's why I don't see that it is causing any problem, whether those who signed are 1160 or 116, because the most important thing is to institutionalize. But since it hasn't, it does not cause lots of trouble; it sends signals and Arafat is excellent in catching signals and responding to them in a manner that makes them disintegrate.

This reform of the PLO and the cleaning up, is it genuine? People should not really have high expectations. The PLO is like any other Arab regime, may be a little bit better here and there but I don't think it is worse than any of the Arab systems. It might, on the other hand, not necessarily be any better, but ultimately we are going to end up with a leader, especially one with charisma like Arafat; we are going to end up with a leader of a state, of a Palestinian entity, call it what you will, who is almost the sole decision maker—as the case in the Arab world or the third world countries, that's the first thing. The second thing is that it depends now on the democratic forces within the PLO and on the Palestinian street; with those I have high hopes especially those in the street. This is why I think, knowing how shrewd Mr Arafat is and though he will be the ultimate decision-maker, he would provide lots of concessions, and may be these are not concessions, may be this is what he would like to appear—as a leader of a democracy. Even if he doesn't, let us assume that he doesn't, I think there are enough forces within Palestinian society that would push into the direction of liberalism. He can't be between two democratic states like Israel and Jordan and not being at least as democratic if not more. Third, as to the issue of cor-

ruption, I think that it has always been over exaggerated. Yes, there is a certain amount of corruption within the PLO like any other political systems in the world including the Arab states—I don't have to remind you what we know about Italy, Japan or Israel, we know how much corruption they have. I know that our frame of reference should not be the corrupt state but I think as part of political life you would ultimately have a certain amount of corruption, but this amount I hope wouldn't be as bad as it is in Israel, Italy or Japan. I don't, on the other hand, have real high hopes that we are going to be another Switzerland immediately, but we might, 20 years from now. What about the Palestinian Independent Commission for Human Rights? Until now we don't have a board really, there is an initiative and I am part of this initiative...hopefully with Edward Saeed, Mahmoud Darweesh and Raja Shihadi. The most important thing about this commission is that it should be really independent, and that its composition should be of people of high caliber, background and credibility. Second, it should be totally financially independent. Third, it will have to find and build solid bridges with similar international organization to get mutual protection...etc. Why do you feel the need for a human rights commission? You need always a native one. This doesn't cancel the role of the international ones like Middle East Watch or Amnesty International...etc. But take Israel, they have *B'Tselem* and it has been doing an excellent job with the Israeli Human Rights Commission. Raja Shihadi formed *Al Haq* under occupation, now with a Palestinian entity, we need some thing independent. ■



Our Say...

Looking back at '93

BY JORDANIAN standards, 1993 was an exceptional year—a year fraught with political, economic and social developments that will be looked upon as landmarks in the history of this country. Some of these events were to the benefit of Jordan, others heralded tough times and challenges, the consequences of which will be with us in 1994.

On the political side, Jordanian democracy went through crucial tests beginning with the dissolution of the 11th Parliament, the amendments to the electoral law and the 8 November Parliamentary elections; it, in turn, produced the 12th Parliament. These developments exposed the Government of Dr Abdel Salam Majli to harsh criticism from the new Lower House deputies holding it captive for three long and arduous days before giving it a modest vote of confidence.

Overall, Jordanian democracy, unique as it is in the Arab world, survived, though appearing to have lost its momentum at times. The coming year promises to be just as rigorous for our fledgling democracy. The task ahead lies in carrying out intensive legal and legislative reform, the institutionalization of our political gains and the restoration of our economic development which had appeared to have swerved from its tracks.

In 1993 a new and a more liberal press and publications law was passed, allowing the appearance of many newspapers. But the Jordanian press came under scrutiny, not by the state we might add, but by the public who demanded and still do a more responsible and credible form of journalism.

This was the year of pluralism in Jordan, with over 20 political parties from all shades of the political spectrum receiving their licenses and contesting the November elections. It became evident that these parties have a long way to go before becoming a truly indigenous part of the political culture of Jordan. They have to contend with the rise of tribalism, encouraged by the present electoral law, and with the changing political moods of the people.

The seemingly invincible Muslim Brotherhood Movement and its political arm, the Islamic Action Front, faced their most testing crises during 1993. The November elections were held under new rules and in spite of their organization, the IAF and its supporters failed to retain their previous representation in Parliament. The IAF also faced internal challenges from some of its leading figures, but despite this, they remain, the single, most organized, political movement that the Government has now to reckon with.

In 1993, Jordan persisted in its drive towards ending its 40-year-old conflict with Israel within the framework of the peace process. It signed a memorandum of understanding with Israel and has inched closer towards concluding a peace treaty with the Jewish state. But Jordan felt the tremors of the political earthquake which resulted from the PLO-Israeli agreement signed in Washington last September. Its special relationship with the PLO and the Palestinians has witnessed periods of ebbs and flows, something which affected the country's economic performance in the last quarter of 1993. That last challenge, the rise of a Palestinian entity west of the River Jordan, will undoubtedly be the most celebrated event in 1994 and the most unpredictable that Jordan has to live with.

Counterpoint

Scapegoats and policy options

IN A week when the economic news has been dominated by talk of the Sales Tax and the public sector wage freeze, it is interesting to be able to lay blame at the door of the Internal Monetary Fund (IMF). However, it is also interesting to find, ultimately, the same fault.

The common premise of both the Sales Tax and the public sector wage freeze is not an IMF dictate but our own budget deficit. The fiscal desperation which led us into the arms of the IMF was the consequence of a failure to restrain public sector expenditures. The recent opposition to the Sales Tax must be understood in this light.

Maintaining a permanent budgetary imbalance has seen the decay of economic strategy into a narrowly fiscal policy; as the Government has been forced to focus attention upon means to cover its expenditure commitments. The crisis which prompted IMF intervention took a fiscal form, and the IMF is now imposing a fiscal remedy.

But a policy driven by fiscal expediency is not one to inspire the confidence of business. The discontent expressed regarding the introduction of the Sales Tax was not simply the self-interested grumbling of a private sector anxious to preserve its profit margins. At issue was the more fundamental question of whether

squeezing tax from trade and industry to subsidize the existing levels of state bureaucracy is a coherent response to the current economic disorders.

The Government has adopted an essentially passive role in the current restructuring process, attempting to delay or deflect the impact of some of the most painful measures demanded. If this means simply that the vast wages of state sector employees will decline slightly slower than the IMF package might otherwise require, then we will only be storing up today's problems for tomorrow. Seeking to close the budget deficit by the gradual erosion of state sector living standards is not as much a strategy as the absence of a strategy.

The alternative open to the Government is to regulate the initiative by actively reducing the traditional, unproductive role of the state as an employer of surplus labor.

The private sector strategy—no channel resources currently consumed by the bureaucracy into productive investment—is not as easy or a comfortable choice. It is, however, a constructive choice which looks to secure the current cycle of fiscal retrenchment through real economic growth.

Fundamentalist confrontation brings Algeria near chaos

By Kim Murphy

TAMEZGUIDA, Algeria—In this farming community of perhaps 250 families on a high, silent perch in the Atlas mountains, a band of some 30 Islamic militants crept by night into a compound of foreign contractors, bearded 14 Christian Croatians into a dry river bed and slit their throats.

"We are the terrorists of the FIS (Islamic Salvation Front), and we are here to kill," the militants said, according to one young contractor, who had his neck slashed but survived on 14 December after lying for hours in the silence of his slain companions. "We all tried to pretend we were Muslims, but in the end, we didn't know Arabic, and we didn't know how to pray."

Algeria, whose war of independence helped form modern notions of revolutionary violence and state retribution, is providing new lessons in urban warfare in the Middle East. A long battle against Islamic fundamentalism—a war whose stakes could stretch to surrounding Arab nations in north Africa, Egypt and even Europe—has escalated to new levels of violence in recent months, leaving the future of Algeria's shaky interim government in doubt.

A total of 23 foreigners have been killed in the warfare since mid-September, most of them since a first December deadline in which an Islamic outlaw group warned foreigners to leave the country or die.

Deaths in Algeria now average seven a day—some of them, human rights activists believe, attributable to anti-fundamentalist death squads. Algeria, long in crisis, has slipped into a shadowy limbo of suspicion and conspiracy, death and retribution.

"If the situation continues to

deteriorate at the (present) rate...," said one Western diplomat, "there will come a time in the not-too-distant future when the regime collapses. And what happens after that is anybody's guess."

It has been a sad slide for Algeria over the past three years, when its sudden opening from Eastern bloc-style socialism to multi-party democracy plunged the country from dizzy euphoria to the brink of civil war. An Islamic fundamentalist party, the FIS, swept the first national elections in the country's history with more than three million votes.

In what surrounding autocratic Arab regimes have pointed to soberly as a lesson in the pitfalls of quick democracy in the Middle East, the FIS was stopped only when the army stepped in two years ago. It toppled President Chadli Bendjedid and installed a constitutionally dubious five-member High Committee of State to rule. The committee was supposed to restore order, initiate political reconciliation and give way to new national elections this month.

Instead, it has found itself powerless to initiate a national dialogue among Algeria's political factions, who seem to be able to agree on only one thing: the existing government's illegitimacy.



The government announced it was extending its lease on life until the end of January and said it hoped to convene a national reconciliation conference by 25 January.

The outlawed FIS, holding forth from exile in France and Germany, has said it expects an "explosive" insurrection before the year's end. The even more militant Armed Islamic Group, which claimed responsibility for the Croatians' murders and other attacks on foreigners, has threatened revenge against anyone who even thinks of engaging in talks with "the illegal junta." Other political factions, even those who most detest the Islamic fundamentalists, have proclaimed that any national dialogue is useless without the FIS.

Outside analysts say the prospects over the next several weeks include anything from outright civil war to a cosmetic attempt to placate the FIS to—worst of all, in the belief of many Arab regimes also plagued with Islamic violence—a genuine political accommodation, for the first time in North Africa, with

Islamic fundamentalism.

"There are some who believe that the army's superior firepower will, in the end, be able to overcome the resistance," said a Western analyst. "And maybe that is true. But the problem is that the military are doing everything in their power already to control the situation, and still it is getting worse."

The FIS seemed, to the outside world, to have been largely defanged over the past two years. Its leaders—Abassi Madani, Ali Belhadj and Abdelkader Hachani—have been imprisoned. Thousands of its supporters have been jailed in detention camps in the Sahara.

The party officially was dissolved by administrative decree. Its two newspapers have been banned and its clerics have been replaced with government supporters.

But by all appearances, the FIS and its more militant descendants are stronger than ever. In strongholds in the quarters populaires of downtown Algiers, in the mysterious Kasbah of the central city, in the tenement-laden suburbs outside the city and in the villages of the Atlas, the FIS still holds sway.

In many areas of the country, the army penetrates Islamic strongholds only on occasional patrols, returning to barracks before dark. Police sweep the streets of Algiers only on the backs of trucks, their faces shrouded in masks, machine gunning out the sides of their vehicles.

All but two of the massive detention camps that once housed up to 6,000 suspected militants have been shut down, not only because of pressure from human rights groups but because they had turned into breeding grounds for militancy. FIS supporters have succeeded in imposing a strict

Islamic regime in almost all the nation's prisons, and detention centers, Algerian journalists say. A campaign of assassination and terror against Algerian intellectuals, judges and journalists—disavowed by the FIS but endorsed by the more militant armed group—has left the capital in constant fear. University professors open their mail to find a single bullet in an envelope or a drawing of a coffin. Journalists walk outside their offices or homes and are cut down with machine-gun fire.

Foreigners have booked every flight to Europe through this month. After the killings and the kidnapping of three French consular officials, most foreign embassies and companies are reducing staff and sending family members home. The US Embassy has advised all citizens to leave who do not have a very good reason for staying.

The National Commission on Dialogue commenced in November to try to bring together factions to reach a consensus on how to govern Algeria. Everyone has set their conditions for participating in the conference, scheduled between 25-26 January and most say the talks won't go anywhere unless the FIS participates. But FIS leaders risk assassination if they join.

Political analysts say the government may fashion a cosmetic solution by finding some acceptable former FIS leaders to enter the dialogue, then it will propose a new three-member ruling committee that would include an Islamist, such as former FLN leader Taleb Ibrahim, who is close to the fundamentalists. Another scenario, says one Algerian analyst, is that the regime may finally decide to give the FIS a chance.

LA Times-Washington Post News Service

By Martin Widlanski

IS YASSER Arafat losing his grip? Is somebody organizing a press campaign against him to undermine his leadership and perhaps torpedo the negotiation process?

These are central questions among reporters and diplomats close to the negotiating process who are concerned with stability inside the PLO and its reliability to carry out a complicated diplomatic process under pressure.

"Many of these reports have originated here in Israel," declared Shlomo Raz, diplomatic correspondent of Israel Radio, during a recent broadcast. He was trying to downplay reports of erratic behavior by Arafat, and he hinted broadly that the reports were the product of opponents of the PLO-Israeli talks.

But the reports did not all originate in Israel, and some have come from reporters and newsmen normally favorably inclined to Arafat.

Journalists returning from Tunis and other places where they have encountered Arafat—who was known for mood swings before—insist he has been unusually erratic lately.

The Jerusalem newspaper Al-Nahar reported that Arafat exploded during an interview with the British BBC-2, storming out of the studio.

After a few short questions, Arafat was asked about several personnel changes and about not appointing professional economists to economic advisory posts. "You are trying to interfere in our personal affairs," he thundered before walking out.

"At his headquarters in Tunis,

his psychological health is being increasingly questioned, as is his 'obsessive' need to control all aspects of decision-making," observed David Hirst in a story last week in the London Guardian.

During an interview with the Middle East Broadcasting Corporation in London on December 15, Arafat frequently interrupted the friendly questions of Irfan Nizam Al Din and referred to remarks he said Prime Minister Rabin made to him publicly.

Asked by the interviewer about the preparations made for the recent indecisive meeting between him and Rabin, Arafat responded: "When Rabin came, you remember Rabin delivered his famous speech when he said 'I would have liked to meet President Arafat before this time to discuss with him test-a-test all these details'."

In fact, Rabin has never referred to Arafat publicly as "President of Palestine," and Rabin insisted that the White House refer to Arafat as "PLO chairman" during the 13 September ceremony.

Rabin's advisers say he has also never referred to Arafat privately as "president," but Arafat seems very concerned about the

point.

He has broken out emotionally when he was characterized as PLO chairman during several recent interviews and even during the introductory remarks by Swedish officials preceding a public address in Stockholm.

Stories close to Rabin have said that the PLO leader surprised Rabin with lachrymose emotional outbursts during their recent meeting in Cairo—which was especially uncomfortable for Rabin, who dislikes public displays of emotion. Advocates of Arafat acknowledge that he is under extreme pressure, and they cite the fact that the PLO chairman was known for emotional outbursts.

The Jerusalem Post (Middle East Page, August 25) featured accounts of "Arafat's bizarre statements and eccentric behavior" during an interview with Jewish journalists. "As we returned from the encounter, I felt—as did the rest of our delegation—that we had just spent two hours with a man who was completely divorced from reality," remarked Mayer Abramovitz of the *Brown Jewish World in Florida*.

In all fairness to Arafat, however, Israeli leaders have also stormed out of interviews, cut off



Arafat: Changing moods

questioners and even had emotional breakdowns.

Shimon Peres walked out of a recent interview with the Israeli Dan Stilon, when asked a tough question. Moshe Ben-Gurion, who was known for long answers, occasionally hinted he would end interviews when interviewers tried to subject their own remarks.

Moreover, reports of erratic behavior by Israeli leaders continue to this day.

Defiant Bar-Simon of the Labor paper *Denar* recently wrote a scathing profile of Rabin describing him as an overworked man living on cigarettes and coffee who had no time to sleep and who was given to bursts of temper with his closest associates.

Bar-Simon's account may also have been a veiled reference to Rabin's one-day break-down in May 1997, which Rabin later attributed to an excess of caffeine and nicotine.

Rabin himself recently said that he feared Arafat to be in control of his faculties during the December 13 Cairo meeting, and Arafat publicly heaped praise on Rabin for being a bold exponent of the peace process.

The Jerusalem Post

The different faces of Arafat—An Israeli view

Turkey: Reconciling Islam with modernity

Islam in Modern Turkey, Religion, Politics and Literature in a Secular State
By Richard Tapper (editor)
LB Tauris, London pp. 314.

Reviewed by Sirri Uyanik

HOW TO reconcile Islam with modernity and technology? This was and has been the single most

Book Review

important question on the agenda of many Muslim intellectuals in both Ottoman and Republican Turkey as well as in other parts of Muslim world.

So, wondering if there is a

change in this agenda, one only has to turn to chapter nine by M. Meeker on the works of new Muslim intellectuals of Turkey, to find an answer. As products of modern Turkey, such intellectuals leave behind this century-old question, as well as others, such as the culture and civilization/technology and technique dichotomy, behind, as being irrelevant to a Muslim living in a secular Westernized-modernized environment. Instead, having evolved and found out the 'ills' of Western culture and civilization, they are trying to reconstruct a distinctively Islamic outlook in an attempt to present Islam as an alternative to Western-secularist ideology. Strikingly, being aware of the environment in which they are operating, they make use of modern intellectual tools of social science and generally secular discourse to make their point. In this respect, therefore, they have been successful in attracting many readers; this discourse is quite different

from the traditional Islamic rhetoric. This is only one of the very interesting topics chosen for further discussion in this book.

This book, in a sense, sets out to investigate how far has the primary aim of the Kemalist Revolution, embarked upon more than six decades ago, in creating a Turkish national identity; that is, changing the basis of community membership from and religious to a secular-political one been achieved. In other words, today, what effect, if any have the religious characteristics of the members of this community had on their membership? The answer to this question seems to be both very easy and very difficult, as discussed in chapter two. In one sense 'easy' because at the formal level it is clearly yes. At the behavioral level, however, the answer is rather complicated. Islam is an indispensable element in the definition of a Turk. It is, thus, not surprising that the contemporary political community have some religiously-based

attributes, though the fundamental basis of legitimacy is not religion.

In the last few decades the increased visibility of Islam in Turkey has created greater interest in the West as well as within the country itself about the nature of Turkish Islam. It is, however, the overt political manifestation of Islam, as represented by a political party—the NSP and WP—which has received the greatest attention. Although the multidimensional feature of it is frequently acknowledged, other facets of Islam, such as Sufi orders, the growing Islamic literature, etc. are not systematically examined in one volume. This is precisely what is attempted in this book: a broad coverage—in 12 chapters which are grouped into three parts—ranging from the analyses of Islamic journals and books published in Turkey to the discussions of the role of present-day role of religious Sufi orders and to the popular perceptions of Islam, ranked with

ethnic feelings in a provincial town in the extreme southwestern corner of Turkey. The result of this wide-ranging approach is probably the most attractive feature of this book. The reader will certainly gain some insights into the issues which are raised by such questions as how distinctively 'Turkish' is the so-called 'Islamic revival' in Turkey? What has been the role of Sufi orders in perpetuating and reformulating the Islamic discourse and finally what does the fragmented and diversified nature of Islamic movements tell us about the future of social and political pluralism in a country where there is a peculiar and uneasy combination of secularism and capitalism on the one hand and Islam as popular religion on the other. Elaborating on all these themes, the book should be of interest to the expert as well as to the general reader.

BRISBANE NEWSLETTER

The Star
Jordan's political, economic and cultural weekly

An independent political, economic and cultural weekly, published every Thursday in Amman by Media Services International (Info-Media).
Editorial & Advertising: Telephones 652-380, 645-380, Fax 648-298, P.O. Box 9313, Postal Code 11191 Amman - Jordan.

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The Star is serviced by LA Times-Washington Post News Service, Gemini Feature Service, PANOS, The WorldPaper, Editors Press Service, STILLS and by correspondents in the United States (Jenab Tutunji & Carrie Nelle Moye) and South Asia (M.G.G. Pillai).

Sacrificed on many altars

History tells the Russian soldier that change doesn't come easy

By ALEXANDER PUMPIANSKI
in Moscow

RUSSIA'S SOLDIERS have never been spared. From those who died realizing the territorial ambitions of the Czar to the millions Stalin sacrificed to halt Hitler's war machine and expand the boundaries of the Soviet Union, Russian soldiers have paid a steep price for change and progress. It is therefore not surprising that, having finally achieved a relatively secure and respected place in society due to their heroism in the Great Patriotic War, Russia's armed forces are reluctant to embrace the economic and political changes sweeping their nation.

The changes occurring today come at the expense of people, especially those in the armed forces.

Privates and officers, along with workers, engineers and researchers in the military-industrial complex are among the first to feel the pain of unemployment and the uncertainties that go with it.

Further complicating the position of the Russian soldier in the brave new world unfolding around him is that so many have been trained as occupiers, both in East Europe and their own nation. During the days of the communist regime, returning from duty in Poland, Czechoslovakia or Hungary was a seamless process, since the regime they served was itself truly and unreservedly occupational. This was true even within its own borders because, in the final analysis, the regime was supported at the point of a bayonet. However, being trained as an occupier is a poor way to condition a soldier for life in a free society.

At first glance, the leaders in President Boris Yeltsin's new Russian government seem to have inherited their communist predecessors' indifference to the soldiers they trained to garrison East European satellite nations. There are numerous complaints from military leaders concerning the government's lack of attention to the needs of the army.

These generals resolutely blame the Foreign Ministry for "capitulating" to the demands of the former Warsaw Pact nations, as if Poles, Czechs, and others have expressed their readiness to postpone regaining long-desired freedom so that the Russian army can continue to

Alexander Pumpianski, editor of the Moscow weekly *Novoye Vremya*, is the *World Paper* associate editor for Russia.

MILITARY CAPITALISM



Split over their future: Russian soldiers are finding the change to free-market democracy an expensive one.

fulfill its old mission. They also criticize the diplomats for not getting more in exchange for the withdrawals. Despite pledges by the German government to foot the bill for withdrawing the troops and build housing for them in their homeland, most Russian soldiers live in unsuitable conditions: it is estimated that by 1995 over 500,000 officers and non-commissioned officers—many of them with families—will be homeless.

Instead of looking at ways to adapt to the new order, military leaders berate the government which, in their opinion, doesn't even give them the money promised by Yeltsin. A favorite target for this criticism is the Ministry of Finance, which stands accused of withholding sums totalling hundreds of billions of rubles. The government, it is claimed, has run up debts to the army at numerous levels, including the salaries for officers and money for weapons, the loss of which is paralyzing the factories of the military-industrial complex.

Despite the criticism, the real picture becomes much more complicated when examined closely. In fact, Yeltsin and the new Russian parliament have both sought—for political reasons—to don the mantle of the military's main benefactor. Senior officers are the first to see salary increases—a further inducement to fight for the status quo rather than lead the charge for change—and the allowances for the Ministries of Defense, Security, and the Interior come without delay.

But what is money in a time of hyperinflation? However much the printing presses produce for military expenditures, money of this sort does little for the housing, social guarantees, or sense of purpose available to the average soldier. With senior military officials seduced by cash from their political leaders, and the army's rank and file hardened against change by the increasingly bitter price they must pay, what hope is there for reform?

Some senior officers do seem to be willing to acknowledge the scope of the problems facing Russia's armed forces. Deputy Defense Minister General Boris Gromov tersely conceded that Russia's draft system has collapsed, causing a

Yeltsin government's neglectful attitude towards the potential resource.

According to some estimates, the industrial complex embraces as much as 70 percent of Russia's entire industrial potential. Until recently, the best raw materials, brightest people, and immeasurable amounts of money disappeared into this complex, all sustained by government contracts for such things as tanks. And what now, with the 1993 budget for military procurement barely one-fifth of that for 1990?

It is rumored that no tanks were ordered by the army this year. All Russians have benefited an end to this wasteful production of tanks—except those who work in the industries that produced these weapons. Workers became redundant, their salaries falling as a consequence. Fearing social explosions—especially in places such as Arzamas-16 where ordnance equivalent to 260,000 tons of TNT is stored—Yeltsin's government decided to pay those employed in military industries a salary for doing nothing.

This inability, or unwillingness, to constructively reform the military-industrial complex is hurting those who work for it. Also lost are the talents of the numerous scientists who still serve in its titled research and development centers.

The tragedy is that Russia's military industrial complex has never bothered itself with such "trifles" as the adaptation of military products to civilian use. This is in stark contrast to American corporations and regions—such as McDonnell-Douglas and California's Silicon Valley—which are organized around a combination of military and civilian products, something that means military discoveries soon find applications in products for the civilian market.

Russian aviation firms are perhaps the only exception to this unfavorable comparison. The designers at Tupolev, Antonov, and Mikoyan have always developed military aircraft concurrent with modifications for civilian use, and now have the opportunity to launch cooperative projects with their Western counterparts—Boeing, Rolls Royce, and others.

While Russia's aviation firms have seized this chance, other industries moan and groan in an effort to hold onto the past and avoid the sacrifices already made by so many soldiers. "Give us state orders again! Satisfy all our needs! Allow us to sell arms! Make no progress towards real conversion," they plead. Such enterprises are especially alarmed by the concept of privatization, a dragon they believe has no place in the Eden of the military-industrial complex.

Actually, this may be the biggest obstacle in the path of Russia's reforms. Without economic success the young Russian democracy will be in danger. There can be no serious economic progress, however, without the involvement of the military-industrial complex. Which means that the fate of the reforms—and of democracy itself—will be decided behind the barbed wire of the complex's vast territories, still hidden from view of the free market.

A special section

on global wars prepared for The Sun

The World Paper

December 1993

MILITARY CAPITALISM

From military giants to financial dwarfs

World's armies have a new mission: Search-and-seize

By CARLOS CASTILHO in San Jose, Costa Rica



Pumping up his prospects: Yeltsin's army starts to take shape.

FOR THE WORLD'S armed forces, money was the ammunition they used to fight the Cold War. But that 40-year struggle is now over, leaving the military clutching pink slips instead of blank checks.

For those who served in the armed forces on either side of the great divide between capitalism and communism, the new world order has left them without a mission, starved of resources and often without jobs. Local wars have taken the place of great causes, and the United States polices the globe.

According to the military doctrine adopted in November to guide the Russian army, "Though the threat of world war has not been eliminated yet, it has been considerably reduced by now. The main current sources of danger are local wars and regional conflicts." Worldwide, there are almost 15 million men and women trained to do something that is no longer in fashion. The Red Army, which at the height of its strength under the former Soviet regime numbered 4.2 million people, may be reduced by the end of this decade to 1.2 million. How the surviving warriors of the Cold War react to their lost identities and shrinking budgets is a major concern for the international community.

In Latin America, where the military establishments are used to being at the head of the queue for state spending, soldiers have begun to shift their attention from politics to economics. While this is a welcome shift, given the recent history of the coup-plagued region, what it means for the future role of the military is still far from clear.

JUST PRETEND WE DON'T EXIST

In the small hours of the morning of September 2, three conspirators arrived on the doorstep of General José Domingo García—a former Guatemalan Minister

Pumping up his prospects: Yeltsin's army starts to take shape.

Continued on next page

MILITARY CAPITALISM

Farming for firepower

China's soldiers reshape the iron rice bowl

By Li Hui, ZONG CHAOZHENG
and Ma Lei
in Beijing, China

WITH THE SAME enthusiasm it once defended communism, the Chinese army is now embracing capitalism. To many, it appears that the nation's soldiers are being beaten into a new version of the iron rice bowl.

It used to be simpler. The key statistics were the numbers of tanks, troops, guns, planes and ships the People's Liberation Army (PLA) had available to deter hostile neighbors and dictate events within the Chinese sphere of influence. Today, the statistics that are important to the PLA are somewhat different. With its budget eroded by inflation, and national priorities changing, Chinese military leaders now wait anxiously for data on the revenues generated by the PLA's businesses and the food produced by its farms.

The official 1993 budget for the PLA—which is defined as including the air force and navy—is US\$3.5 billion, up almost 10 percent compared to 1992. In terms of real buying power, however, the budget increases have not kept pace with inflation during the past decade, according to Li Lun, lieutenant general and deputy director of the PLA's General Logistics Department. Official statistics show commodity prices in China have gone up 130 percent since 1980, while defense expenditure has risen by 116 percent during the same period.

General Li, who has 40 years' experience in military logistics, points out that this year's budget cannot meet even the day-to-day needs of the PLA, let alone pay for improvements to its equipment. Even the shedding of a million troops has not helped, he adds.

To make up for the shortage, the army is trying hard to be self-sufficient, expanding its military activities to include cultivating farmland, keeping poultry, running industrial enterprises, and making business deals.

The PLA currently operates nearly 20,000 industrial and business enterprises, with an output valued at \$6 billion. Much of this income goes toward modernizing its technological capabilities. In addition, the military maintains 800 farms. Each year, the PLA produces a combined total of 1.45 million tonnes of grain, vegetables, fish, chicken, meat, and eggs, nearly half of the army's annual consumption of these foodstuffs.

Also forced to respond to the financial strain is China's defense industry. In a drive to convert swiftness to plowshares, Li Hui, Zong Chaozheng, and Ma Lei are feature writers for the Chinese Xinna News Agency.

MILITARY CAPITALISM

To help ensure its suppliers' economic survival, the General Logistics Department set up the China Xinna Corporation in 1989. This organization oversees some 100 military supplies factories throughout the country, with a combined labor force of 140,000. Xinna has the right to manage these factories—which remain under the ownership of the General Logistics Department—and is required to turn over to the department 36 percent of its annual profit.

Another PLA-backed business giant is the Poly Group, the military's major arms exporter. In its peak year, 1987, the group sold over \$500 million worth of arms. Nominally a subsidiary of China International Trust and Investment Corporation, the Poly Group has recently taken on loans totaling \$150 million to buy a major hotel complex in Beijing, develop sites in various coastal provinces, and pursue ventures in Hong Kong and the U.S.

Factory 3540 was among the first to make the switch from military supplier to producer of civilian goods. Settled now in Qinghuangdao, a thriving port city in northern China, the former maker of military uniforms now produces fashionable dresses and which are both sold at home and exported. Factory 3540 still runs the military supplies workshop at its original mountain site, while the new factory in Qinghuangdao concentrates on manufacturing civilian products.

Enterprises such as Factory 3540 have acquired new names, too, while keeping the old because of the good reputation for quality that military factories have developed. The reputation of these factories has been maintained by Xinna. During the four years since its establishment, the corporation has invested \$87 million in the purchase of advanced domestic and foreign technology and equipment.

An example of these investments is CAD (computer-aided design), currently used in the design of fashions and high-quality cast-iron pipes, which flow from assembly lines to markets in the Middle East. In addition, four research centers have been built for the tanning and shoe-making industries.

Production of civilian goods now accounts for two thirds of the corporation's total output. From mammoth bulldozers to tiny dress buttons, civilian products manufactured by military supplies factories have entered civilian life on a dramatic scale.

Besides its factories, Xinna also runs seven companies specializing in trade, tourism, advertising and real estate. It has built a number of hotels and restaurants in Beijing, Nanjing, Shanghai, and Guangzhou. Profits in these activities reached \$41 million in 1992.

In July 1992, Xinna executives headed by general manager Zhu Zhenmin flew to Shenzhen, China's fastest developing economic zone. As a result of this business trip, more than 40 industrial joint ventures—involving \$100 million in overseas and domestic investment—were being established.

During the past four years, Zhu and his

appearing. For this latter class of employee, becoming a contract worker is often the only way they can remain with the enterprise.

"In this way, we have introduced competition into the whole process of production and management," says a Xinna executive in charge of production. "It gives everybody a sense of urgency at a time of crisis, and it fills us with a determination to survive."

In order to reduce their vulnerability in case of war, China's military supplies factories were usually built far from cities, favoring sites hidden deep in the mountains. In the late 1980s the factories, as part of the transition from a planned to a market economy, began to come out of these hiding places and relocate in the new centers of economic activity. Currently half of all these factories have settled in their new homes, and are actively engaged in manufacturing products for civilian use.

Factory 3540 was among the first to make the switch from military supplier to producer of civilian goods. Settled now in Qinghuangdao, a thriving port city in northern China, the former maker of military uniforms now produces fashionable dresses and which are both sold at home and exported. Factory 3540 still runs the military supplies workshop at its original mountain site, while the new factory in Qinghuangdao concentrates on manufacturing civilian products.

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Khaki-controlled corruption

West Africa's military embraces black markets

By PETER DA COSTA
in Serikwinda, The Gambia

ON AUGUST 24, 1990, troops from five West African nations entered Liberia, bent there to prevent its bloody civil war from spilling into neighboring states. As it turned out, the Liberian mission exposed the peacekeeping nations to a completely different threat: khaki-controlled corruption.

Though the intervention by fellow members of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) into Liberia's internal affairs was rightly seen as a watershed in the way conflict is dealt with in post-colonial Africa, it also ushered in a new era with regard to military involvement in—and creation of—black markets.

Barely 2,000 strong when it landed in Liberia's capital, Monrovia, the ECOWAS Casemate Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) was dominated by troops from oil-rich Nigeria, Africa's most populous nation and a regional power both in economic and military terms. After three years in Liberia, ECOMOG now numbers 16,000 troops. Of this force, Nigeria has supplied 10 of ECOMOG's 13 battalions, all of its air and sea capability, and five of its six commanders since 1990.

By assuming this degree of responsibility for the peace-keeping operation, Nigeria's leadership was able to justify continued maintenance of a large peacetime army—estimated to number 100,000 men—and insulate it against proposals to reduce its size and cost. As it turned out, involvement in ECOMOG also opened up new avenues for business, an activity the military leader at that time, General Ibrahim Badamagbala, encouraged in an effort to ensure the loyalty of his men.

Thanking advantage of their control over ECOMOG's transportation, Nigerian military personnel routinely sold the relief supplies they were bringing into Monrovia. Commodities "redirected" for commercial sale were a common sight on Nigerian naval ships, planes and helicopters during this peacekeeping operation. In February 1991, after a lull in fighting between Liberia's warring factions, the only beer available before the local brewery reopened was '33, brewed and canned in Nigeria and brought to market by ECOMOG personnel.

Later in the operation, commanding Peter Da Costa is the Inter Press Agency's chief correspondent for West Africa. He is based in The Gambia.



On the lookout for a good deal: Nigerian ECOMOG soldiers in Liberia.

adventurism. This, they argued, was simply a case of Badamagbala diverting public attention from a troubled domestic situation while providing members of the armed forces with another avenue for personal gain.

Nigeria's involvement in Liberia has cost it dearly. Hundreds of soldiers lost their lives. The operation also drained state coffers, often without any public accountability. The mounting cost of helping to safeguard the security of ECOMOG's transport, Nigerian President Ernest Shonekan's decision to bring the men home an extremely popular one when it was announced in August.

Redirecting the financial cost to Nigeria of these peacekeeping operations, Monrovia, Grenfell—a London-based bank—reported in February that the country's foreign exchange reserves had fallen from US\$3.4 billion in 1991-92 to \$1 billion at the time of the report. Analysts attributed the bulk of these foreign exchange outflows to the financing of ECOMOG operations where, in addition to their regular salaries, every rank and file soldier was entitled to an extra \$2 a day for combat duty.

As the costs of this operation mounted, individual soldiers were permitted on a

grand scale from the opportunities afforded by black markets in Liberia—markets that in many cases the soldiers themselves had created. A number of ECOMOG officers decorated for their part in forcing Liberia's armed factions into a ceasefire were later disciplined or expelled from the ranks when it was discovered they had conducted business with rebel militia commanders. One faction leader claimed to have videotaped evidence of ECOMOG soldiers looting downtown Monrovia.

Its failure to resist the opportunities afforded by its position in Liberia further damaged the prestige of the Nigerian army, whose once excellent reputation was already suffering from Badamagbala's efforts to involve it in the internal politics of the country. Despite the fact that six of its nine post-independence regimes were run by the military, it was not until Badamagbala's regime came to power in 1985 that the military became identified with politics. Once this happened, however, its reputation plummeted as political soldiers superseded professionals, carving up the nation's wealth with impunity, enriching themselves through defense contractors, and entrenching a culture of corruption.

"This is the only country where you'll see sergeants with three houses and brigades who can't even afford a car," says a Nigerian journalist with expertise in military affairs. In addition to creating these inequities, the new culture appears to have prompted Nigeria's military establishment to take a growing interest in the nation's economy, something that often takes the form of direct participation in businesses and industrial concerns. Analysts point to these politicized officers as being among Nigeria's biggest industrialists, with all-too-visible investments in communications companies, defense firms, real estate, airlines and almost every sector of commercial life.

Faced with this corruption, it is small wonder that a majority of senior military officers had no intention of allowing Badamagbala's leadership to continue beyond the end of its official term. Embarrassed by the effect acquisitive political soldiers are having on the professionalism of Nigeria's armed forces, they would have to retire from the army and make it clear to the General that he would have to move no later than August 27. Left with no choice but to comply, Badamagbala quit and then saw his closest allies in the armed forces purged within weeks of his stepping down.

Continued on the next page

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MILITARY CAPITALISM

peers have set up foreign trade companies in many major coastal cities, such as Tianjin, Shanghai, Guangzhou and Xiamen. They have also opened trading offices in Dubai, Hong Kong, Moscow and Singapore, and are planning to set up subsidiary companies in Japan and North America. Xinxiang has established business relations with more than 1,000 enterprises and companies from 100 countries and regions. Last year its total import and export volume was valued at \$60 million.

WORKING FOR SELF-SUFFICIENCY

Members of China's armed forces, like those of most nations, are entitled "to eat royal grain," — to be fully fed, clothed, and sheltered by the state. With the country's modernization drive, however, the tight defense budget allocates only 38 cents a day to meet the needs of an average soldier. This translates to a daily ration of just over 250 grams of pork and 800 grams of grain.

Chinese soldiers, mostly 18 to 22 years of age, need much more protein than the official ration provides. Yet the country is already short of funds. It cannot spare more money to alleviate the shortages. "We must rely on ourselves," says Colonel Zhang Shigang, who is in charge of providing military necessities for a corps of the PLA stationed in North China's Shanxi Province. "To ensure the supply of provisions to his army, Shigang and his colleagues run 33 rice farms and a number of poultry

and pig farms. An estimated 40 percent of the grain and 70 percent of the meat consumed by Shigang's corps are produced by its soldiers. "By and large we are self-sufficient in non-staple food," Shigang says.

The army and all its divisions have their own farms to grow rice, which make up the backbone of our agricultural and sideline production," explains Shigang. Each regiment also produces its own meat, eggs and fish, and each company has its own vegetable plot.

Thanks to these efforts, the daily diet of each soldier averages 950 grams of grain plus 50 cents worth of meat, eggs, fish and vegetables. Most of the army farms have been built by reclaiming virgin land, and the yield in the army is 10 to 15 percent higher than the average for the area, Shigang says. "No other army in the world is producing its own necessities on such a scale," he adds.

Shigang traces the PLA's agricultural tradition back to the production campaign in the early 1940s, launched by the Communist-led Eighth Route Army, the PLA's predecessor, to break the Kuomintang's economic blockade. But it was not until after 1985 that the army's production was carried out in a systematic way.

While managing to feed itself with the output from its farms, the army has also tried to offset the shortage of state money by operating its own enterprises. "The PLA is the lowest paid army in the world," according to Senior Colonel

Zhang Jinlin, who oversees industrial production of the army in Shanxi. He says China's defense budget manages an annual allowance of merely \$250 for each soldier. Therefore, he adds, the army has to run some kind of business to make up the difference.

Taking advantage of the abundant coal resources of Shanxi where his forces are stationed, Jinlin started the army's first coal mine in 1984. He has since put into operation dozens of others, and is now general manager of the army's conglomerate—Luyan Corporation Group—which is composed of 81 different enterprises. Under the new management structure workers are hired locally, while the managerial personnel are drawn from the PLA. They account for one percent of the PLA's total presence in the region.

One example of these new enterprises is the Qingxu Coal Mine, some 200 kilometers from Taiyuan, the provincial capital. A local village mined there for three years but, according to Jinlin, they failed to produce any coal due to poor management and lack of funds. Jinlin's troops changed all that after they bought the mine from the village in 1980. In the first year under military control it produced 510,000 tons of coal, 300,000 tons more than they had expected.

So far none of the army's enterprises have suffered a major accident, which is a safety record never before matched in the province. Workers receive 15 days of military training after they join the en-

terprise. Once on the job, miners are paid according to their output, and their monthly income is higher than the average earnings of a government employee. The mine also covers 75 percent of their daily mess fees as a fringe benefit.

The PLA mines are also popular among local residents because of what they have done for them. The Qingxu Mine, for instance, has invested \$13,000 to repair roads and install tap water for the local villagers, while employing the village's surplus manpower. In addition, the mine has provided more than 700 desks and stools for three local schools, and doctors from the army have extended free medical service to local people. "It is our wish that local people may get rich from our presence," says one manager.

The 81 enterprises, ranging from mining and metallurgy to the making of soft drinks, have also enriched the army. Officials say that revenue from these enterprises account for 40 percent of the army's annual expenditure in the Shanxi province, adding that they also pay 13 kinds of taxes to the state.

Colonel Shigang cautions, however, that the profit-orientation of the enterprise comes into conflict with the spirit of "unselfish dedication" promoted by the army. "There are bound to be some unhealthy or evil tendencies," he observed.

Weighing the pros and cons, he concludes, "We can only take measures to promote the good practices and weed out corrupt ones."

General Humberto Ortega is a true believer in military capitalism. "The budget we are getting from the state is barely enough to survive, and is not enough for any future planning. This is why we launched an entrepreneurial policy, in order to defend our real salaries and guarantee our retirement," stated Ortega in April.

The Nicaraguan army, which continued to be under Sandinistas control even after the Sandinistas lost the 1990 presidential elections, laid off 64,000 of its 80,000 soldiers and officers, sold Peru several helicopters donated by the former Soviet Union for \$24 million and reutilized the remaining ones to logging and tourist firms. The Salvadoran military has just started to follow the lead of Honduras and Nicaragua, but they already own a hotel and a civilian construction company. Both enterprises were purchased with resources from the Institute of Social Prevention, which boasts a membership of 60,000 active and retired soldiers and officers.

According to Costa Rican social scientist Luis Guillermo, the use of pension funds for financial and speculative investment has become a gold mine for the Central American military. But the entrepreneurial success of the Central American military has had a high political cost. Broken was the traditional alliance with the great economic magnates of the country, which is now openly hostile towards the entrepreneurial military. The chambers of commerce and the industrial associations accuse their former allies of unfair competition and of favoring a corporate capitalism to which only those in uniform have access.

On the southern tip of Latin America the Argentine generals try to adapt to the new times by exploring different alternatives to those adopted by their Central American colleagues. Instead of going into business, they chose education. A document prepared by experts from the armed forces recommended the transformation of the military academies into high level institutes of technology, with the goal of producing better prepared experts than the Argentine universities.

In contrast, Brazilian and Uruguayan military officers have no clear proposals and there is a growing tendency toward economic nationalism and unionism—in defense of salaries and resources—accompanied by strong resistance to proposed anti-drug missions. The influential Military Club in Brazil has become an active forum for debating work conditions and voicing bitter protests against what their members classify as salary discrimination. The same thing happened in Ecuador and Venezuela, particularly after the government threatened to privatize the local military enterprises.

With so many problems confronting them, it is clear that the Latin American military are no longer the ideal partners with whom to launch a coup. But the quest of the Guatemalan General Jose Domingo Garcia that we forget the military is difficult to heed. They still have the weapons, and are able to use them.

The engine behind Guatemala's military capitalism is the Institute of Military Prevention (IPM), created in 1966, which manages the soldiers' and officers' contributions to social security. The Guatemala IPM is light-lipped about its capital and number of members, a trait inherited from the military's past. But its investments are not secret, since they need to have a certain degree of transparency in order to attract private investors and participate in the financial market. The Guatemala IPM controls the Army Bank, an insurance company, a savings and loan company, a parking garage, a television station and a supermarket where military personnel receive discounts.

In Honduras there is also an IPM, one that is much more open about its resources. This IPM has approximately 70,000 members, an annual income of \$40 million and an investment plan for the current year valued at \$30 million. The IPM—which invests in the stock exchange and financial markets—controls the Armed Forces Bank, an insurance company, a funeral parlor, a radio station, a shrimp-processing firm, and even a professional soccer team, Real Mayag.

The experience of these Central American countries, was copied by Nicaragua and El Salvador. Nicaraguans

its military aid to the continent. According to Guatemalan sociologist Gabriel Aguilar, the US State Department started to give priority to managers instead of generals.

Honduras, a country that some compared to an American aircraft carrier anchored in Central America, received as much as US\$400 million a year in military aid from the US during the mid-1980s. In 1991 this amount went down to \$132 million, dropping by a further \$32.4 million the following year. By 1993, the US only guaranteed maintenance of the equipment—mainly the F-5 fighter planes they had stationed there. El Salvador's military lost 90 percent of its funding from the US when the peace with left-wing guerrilla forces was signed in 1992.

Further south, officers of the Argentine army have been forced by the country's economic crisis to drive taxis in their spare time to supplement their incomes. An army sergeant makes \$200 a month—and a general no more than \$2,300—in a country where the basic family shopping basket of a blue-collar worker costs \$400 a month, excluding rent. According to military expert Rosendo Fraga, 60 percent of the officers in the country's air force have two jobs. Since 1991, 700 army officers, from captains to generals, chose early retirement to avoid being summarily discharged. The Argentine army lost 16 percent of its staff as a result of budget cuts.

In Brazil, where the country's constitution forbids the military from striking, its members were forced last year to send their wives and daughters to march in the streets demanding salary increases. Adding to their humiliation was the sight of police dispersing these marchers as if they were militant communists.

The Brazilian war industry, which in the 1970s was considered the most advanced in the Third World, has been reduced to a pile of scrap metal. An estimated ten corporations closed their doors or went bankrupt, and only one

Carlos Castilho is a Brazilian journalist who writes frequently on Latin America for The WorldPaper.

Cuts in military budgets ranged from 15 percent, in the case of Argentina and Brazil, to 60 percent for El Salvador. Furthermore, the US drastically reduced



Ready, aim, sell!

From military giants...

Continued from previous page
Among Central American nations, the armed forces are attempting to survive economic upheaval and dramatic budget cuts by shifting their focus from repression to profit.

Adding to the problems of the military in Latin America is the new-found willingness of the civilian population to try and redefine its role in society. The Panamanian army barely survived a constitutional plebiscite in December in which it came very close to being banned. Had the plebiscite passed, Panama would have joined Costa Rica, which since 1948 has been the only Latin American country without an army. In Colombia and Mexico the military are doing everything in their power to avoid being turned into anti-drug police, while in Chile the fear of a vendetta by the victims of the dictatorship against their uniformed torturers is the main reason for the political longevity of the much feared General Augusto Pinochet.

Peru is the only exception to the growing ostracism of the Latin American military. There they still surround President Alberto Fujimori during official ceremonies, collect substantial salaries, scare the politicians and support the authoritarian regime. The old anti-terrorist rhetoric survives in Peru, thanks largely to the efforts of the Maoist guerrilla organization Shining Path, perhaps the last group of this kind in Latin America.

"The identity crisis of the Latin American military is one of the most disturbing phenomenon in the generalized turmoil south of the Rio Grande," admits Brazilian Colonel Geraldo Cavagrazzi. Few sectors were as deeply affected by the downfall of communism as Latin-Americans in uniform, who lost their greatest enemy, their rationale for seemingly automatic increases to their already generous budgets, and above all their raison d'être as people's attention shifted from armed conflict to their own standard of living.

In the historical context, the military won the war against the guerrilla and socialist movements during the 1980s, but in the current decade they are losing the peace war. Even more irritating to the Latin American military is the way the free market—in whose name they had so often acted—diminished the role of the state and, as a result, helped shrink military budgets.

Cuts in military budgets ranged from 15 percent, in the case of Argentina and Brazil, to 60 percent for El Salvador. Furthermore, the US drastically reduced

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MILITARY CAPITALISM

Khaki-controlled corruption

Continued from previous page

The problems faced by the Nigerian armed forces are not unique. Much of the ideology-linked military support received by African countries ended with the collapse of the Soviet Union. To compensate for the loss, many soldiers have entered the arena of private business, using weapons stockpiled during the Cold War as their currency.

These surplus weapons are finding their way into various black markets, their availability facilitated by contracts between private arms dealers and members of the military. Mali's recently elected civilian president, Alpha Oumar Konare, warned during a 1992 ECOMOG summit that unless governments put their military houses in order, the nations of this sub-region would become critical dealers in human destruction.

One example of this trend came to light last year in Senegal, which is engaged in a bitter 10-year war against separatist rebels in the country's southern region of Casamance. Profiting from this conflict, it turned out, was Senegal's neighbor Guinea Bissau, which offered the rebels support by allowing them to maintain border bases. Local newspapers identified senior Guinea Bissau military officers as having ordered arms shipments from Cuba, paid for in hard currency by the Senegalese rebels, which were then shipped through Bissau's port—ostensibly for use by that nation's armed forces—and delivered to the rebel bases.

Shortly after these reports surfaced, Casamance rebels—who had started the war armed with bows and arrows, machetes and clubs—began using rocket launchers, hand mines and Kalashnikovs as their weapons of choice. Ironically, officials from Guinea Bissau's civilian government had consistently mediated between Casamance rebels and the Senegalese government during the period, unaware that officers in the country's armed forces were reportedly locating and supplying military hardware to the separatists.

This example illustrates a bitter truth:

African countries have been among the last to benefit from the so-called peace dividend that was supposed to accompany the end of the Cold War. According to the UN's 1993 World Development Report, military expenditure for sub-Saharan Africa continued to rise, totaling 108 percent of combined health and education spending in 1992. This compares to 86 percent in 1977.

In Tanzania, where intervention in neighboring Uganda in the early 1980s involved massive mobilization, nearly seven percent of the gross domestic product (GDP) is earmarked for the Army—more than double the average of its immediate neighbors.

Cold War or not, rising poverty and lack of opportunity has made the military a magnet for unemployed youths, who are drawn by promises of free accommodation, education and foreign travel. In Senegal's capital, Dakar, hundreds of youngsters line up patiently outside military camps in response to recruitment drives. Last year stories surfaced in military-riddled Guinea of aspirants offering bribes to recruiters in order to secure places in the army.

For most, military service is simply a matter of better food and shelter, but some have made it the key to amassing a personal fortune. Sergeant Etienne Eyadema, who forced his way onto Togo's political landscape with a bloody 1963 putsch, has made commerce via military dictatorship an art form. By 1997 he was a lieutenant-colonel, and the country's supreme military ruler. Today, 30 years down the line, General Gnassingbe Eyadema is a wealthy man.

Although he comes from a minority ethnic group, the Kabyle, four-fifths Eyadema's 14,000-strong army—so often the tool of repression in his bid to maintain his grip on power—are Kabyles. What is more, most of these originate from, or near, the General's birthplace at Pya, nearly 400 kilometers north of the capital city, Lome.

Nearly every Pya family has a soldier in the army. Eyadema's use of his wealth to ensure loyalty is so all-pervasive and effective that visitors are warned to be careful what they say because, it is whispered, half the members of every household in Togo are in the pay of the head of state.

Detractors say this fact was behind



the refusal of France's conservative, pro-Eyadema government to condemn the widely discredited August 25 presidential election that returned him to power virtually unopposed, crowning a cynical manipulation over three years of nationwide clamors for a multiparty democracy.

ARMED BY THE DONORS

Africa's nation states remain dependent on Western countries for technical assistance and aid to the military. In The Gambia, successful implementation of a World Bank/IMF structural adjustment program, together with the maintenance of multiparty democracy, has ensured the resource-poor nation foreign support in several spheres, not least of which is the development of its fledgling army. Before an attempted coup against President Dawda Jawara in 1981, there was no army, merely a field unit of less than 400 men.

Minute by any standards, The Gambia's army has grown, and now numbers more than 1,000 soldiers. It is commanded by a Nigerian Brigadier General under a memorandum of understanding and receives training from the US, France, Britain and others. Patrol boats for the naval unit were donated by China, which also provides weapons and counter-insurgency training.

The Gambia is almost entirely surrounded by Senegal and cannot hope to defend its vast border from serious external military threats. Yet it has upped defense spending considerably to build and maintain a national army that relies, as do most of the country's more than one million residents, on donor assistance.

Like most other members of

ECOMOG, The Gambia reduced its already token contingent to less than 25 when it could no longer afford to sustain its troops (on two separate occasions ECOMOG returnees took to the streets in protest at non-payment of allowances).

Senegal initially stayed out of ECOMOG, but committed troops to the multi-national force that liberated Kuwait in 1991, and was duly rewarded when army was allowed to keep most of the US-supplied equipment it was given during the Gulf War. Its Chief of Staff, General Mamadou Mansour Seck, on-ly sent troops to Liberia after securing funding to the tune of \$10 million from the US government.

UN and other peacekeeping operations, then, are seen as a source of funding for cash-strapped national armies with outdated equipment and poorly trained officers. Such operations may also offer opportunities for collaboration between the military and multinational corporations, fast stepping into the breach left by a thaw in East-West relations.

One such multinational corporation is Lontio, whose chief executive, "Trey" Rowland, has taken advantage of his astoundingly cultivated relationships with African leaders—both military and civilian—to win contracts for the British conglomerate. In Mozambique, where the left-wing government fought a long and devastating civil war against right-wing rebels, Lontio is involved in a pilot project to clear up the thousands of mines and booby-traps planted throughout this war-ravaged country. The project, initiated by the International Red Cross, is being funded by the European Economic Community.

Lontio survived Mozambique's civil war by hiring a private militia to guard the company's estates, and by striking deals with government troops and rebels alike to ensure safe passage for its produce throughout the country. Such contacts with the military, based on symbiosis, may yet ensure Lontio's success in its bid to secure a much larger UN de-mining contract.

Armed forces throughout Africa are still coming to terms with the new world order, and radical shifts in their approaches are still possible. The current trend, however, is clear. Kickbacks, inflation of requisition orders and abuse of power for commercial gain are the survival tactics favored by armed forces that now operate in a hostile economic environment. ♦

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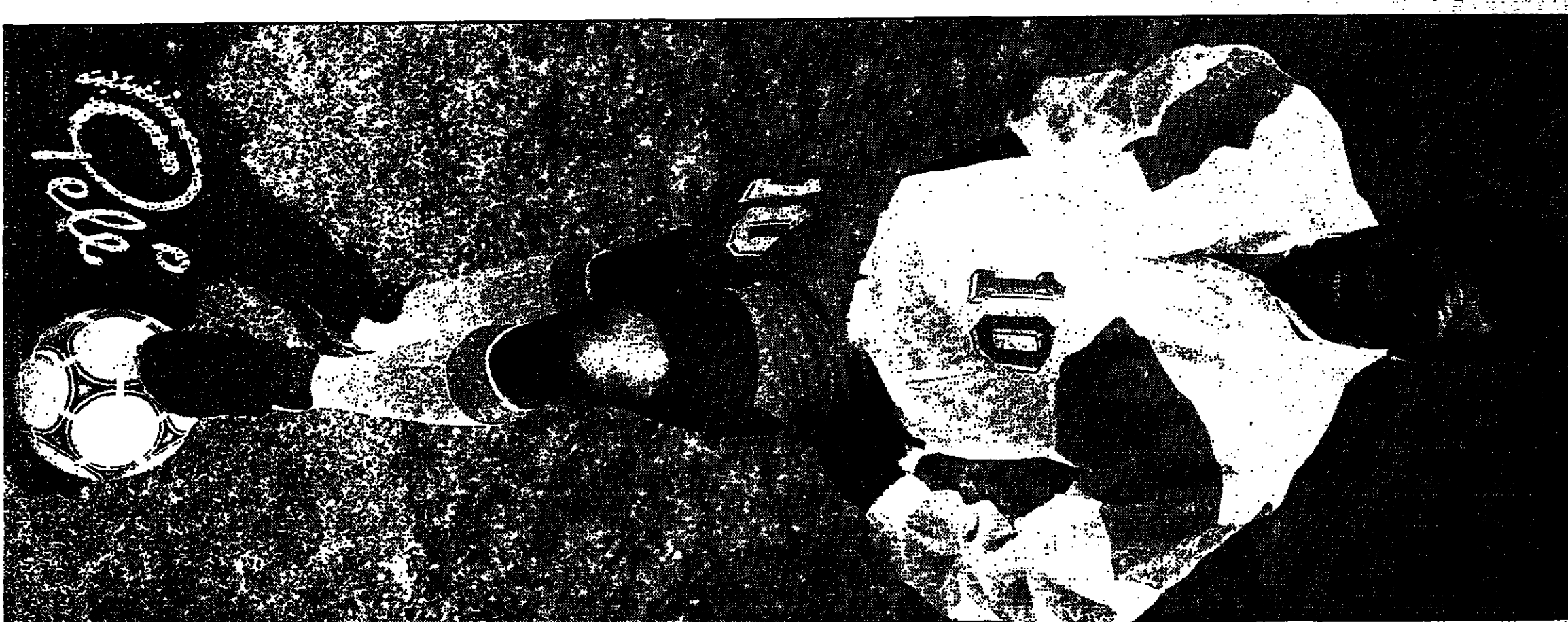
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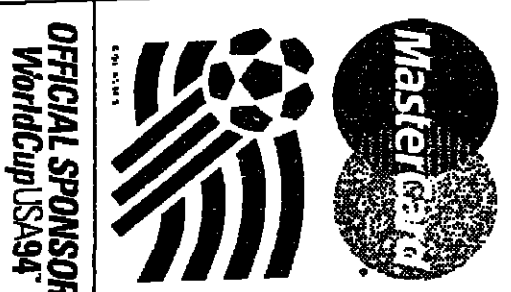
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MILITARY CAPITALISM

THE WORLD

30 DECEMBER 1993

WORLD

THE STAR 9

By Carey Goldberg

MOSCOW—Is Vladimir V. Zhirinovskiy a KGB agent or isn't he? Is he or isn't he a self-denying Jew? Is he or isn't he a beneficiary of neo-Nazi funding from Germany? Is he or isn't he mentally ill?

As Moscow columnist Alexander Minkin put it: "He's terrible! The whole world is holding its breath. ... And before whom? Who is he? The devil knows!"

For all the countless hours that he has spoken nonstop, Zhirinovskiy—the ultra-nationalist demagogue whose success in 12 December elections put an ominous new face on Russian politics—remains in many ways a mystery, not only to the world but to his own people.

The life story he has presented, in statements and in his book, *The Last Days of the Soviet Union*, is full of holes. He is known to lie brazenly, to deny statements he has made, and to promise the impossible. Now, a key question in the wake of his sensational election success is whether any of his falsehoods will catch up with him, whether the dark side of his biography will discredit him enough to stop his political rise.

Among the most damaging of the accusations against Zhirinovskiy is that he was—and may still be—a hireling of the KGB. The allegations have mounted to the point that Zhirinovskiy, 47, a lawyer, said he obtained special disclaimers from the Soviet spy agency announcing that he has never been an agent or stoolie.

But the very idea of such a disclaimer, former KGB chief Viktor Ivanenko told the *Los Angeles Times*, is "nonsense. The KGB has not given out such notes." Ivanenko said he had heard Zhirinovskiy got some kind of a disclaimer from the deputy KGB chairman in 1991. But that notion made no sense, since no spy chief would ever blow a secret agent's cover, Ivanenko said.

Judging by Zhirinovskiy's background, his knowledge of several languages and extroverted personality, Ivanenko said, "Without a doubt, he was a person who would have interested the intelligence services. He would have been an interesting person. But as for proof ... of course there's no proof."

In any case, Ivanenko said,

Russia's mystery man in Moscow

Vladimir Zhirinovskiy:

Zhirinovskiy would have been a bad agent, too self-absorbed and erratic; he would have recalled the intelligence maxim that "The only thing worse than a fool is a fool with initiative."

"I think that if any stake was made on him at the first stage, they were soon convinced he was the wrong person," said Ivanenko, a KGB veteran who headed the agency in late 1991 and now runs a government oil company. "This is a person with a tendency toward mystification and personal conflicts."

It is enough for most Russians to read Zhirinovskiy's book, with its accounts of how he traveled to Turkey, France and elsewhere at a time when ordinary Soviet citi-

zens were kept at home, to become convinced he had KGB ties. He studied at the prestigious Institute for the Countries of Asia and Africa, which was considered a feeder for Soviet intelligence services. He was arrested in Turkey for spreading communist propaganda. Zhirinovskiy also worked for the Soviet Peace

Committee, an organization of purported peace activists known in the West purely as a front for the Communist Party and KGB. Gleb Yakunin, long a dissident Russian Orthodox priest and now a lawmaker, said he expects Russian President Boris N. Yeltsin, who dissolved the KGB's successor agency on Tuesday, to open its archives "and find the Zhirinovskiy file so that the whole country, and his party too, can see what he was in reality."

If Yeltsin plans to fight Zhirinovskiy in earnest, such a character attack would be a more effective means than following other allies' advice that he focus on the campaign promises that Zhirinovskiy fails to fulfill. Because

a mysterious "centrist bloc" suddenly appeared in the Soviet Parliament, led by the hitherto obscure Zhirinovskiy. Although he then was not even a Parliament member, Zhirinovskiy was immediately invited to the Kremlin to meet with Vladimir Kryuchkov, the Parliament speaker and then-KGB chief.

Zhirinovskiy's party also had a suspiciously easy time of it when it arose in 1990, just as the Communist Party monopoly was waning.

Despite these and other signs of KGB connections, Zhirinovskiy and his backers remain staunch in their denials. "I have known Vladimir Volfovich for more than 10 years now, and I must say that all allegations about him having anything to do with the KGB are totally groundless," said Stanislav Zhebrovskiy, deputy chairman of Zhirinovskiy's misleadingly named Liberal Democratic Party of Russia.

Suspensions of Zhirinovskiy's KGB ties overlap with another potentially explosive subject: His involvement in the late 1980s



Zhirinovskiy

with the creation of the *Shalom* Jewish cultural center in Moscow. Several Moscow Jewish activists clearly recall that Zhirinovskiy participated enthusiastically in the center's launch and offered his legal services in writing its charter.

Tancred Golenpolsky, editor of the *Jewish Gazette* said he has the protocols of *Shalom*, founded in late 1988. He said they list Zhirinovskiy as head of the sections on law, philosophy and religion, history and foreign economic ties. Golenpolsky said he believes that *Shalom* was set up either by the KGB or the Communist Party to split the liberal Jewish movement in the Soviet Union.

Yefim Beider, a writer and former member of *Shalom*, said he saw Zhirinovskiy at the group's first session, when the organization's charter was discussed. Beider recalled: "All of a sudden, a young gentleman rose from the audience and said in a loud voice: 'I know how charters are written. I am a professional in this sphere. I am a lawyer by education. So please entrust me with this. Let me do it. I know how it should and should not be done.' Then he would run around the hall and say: 'I know how to do it. Ask me.'"

Beider said he had suspicions then that the KGB was "standing behind" Zhirinovskiy.

But one thing is certain, he said: "At that time, he considered himself a Jew. He came to us, which proved he was a Jew—all our members and everybody who we assigned to do any work for us were naturally Jews. That was the whole idea of setting up a Jewish association."

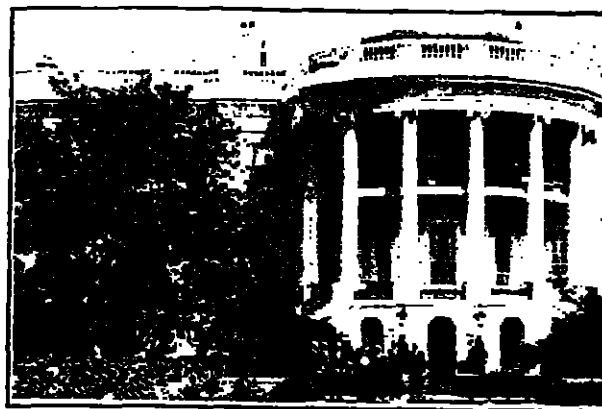
Zhirinovskiy also denies strenuously there was anything fishy about his campaign financing, through the hours of prime-time television he bought bespoke mind-boggling sums. He claims that virtually all his money came from ordinary supporters. He said at one point that he had spent about one billion rubles almost one million dollars—on the campaign and owes \$200,000 for TV time.

This is one mystery that may never be solved, because Russian campaign-finance laws are so fuzzy and permissive, officials admit they are unable to prove improper funding from outside sources. The laws appear to require disclosure only of how campaigns spend government money they receive.

But Andrei Zavidyia, a businessman and Zhirinovskiy's running mate in the 1991 presidential campaign, claims he and his conglomerate, known as Galand, provided much of Zhirinovskiy's financing. Now, Zavidyia told the *Itar-Tass* news agency, they have had a falling-out and he has cut off the money and Zhirinovskiy "is in debt up to his ears."

LA Times-Washington Post News Service

Middle East Beat by Khairi Janbek



Secret clauses in the PLO-Israeli agreement—the economic dimension!

■ As a follow up from last week, we will continue examining the secret clauses in the Gaza-Jericho agreement that was signed on 13 September and about to be implemented, concentrating on the economic aspects of the deal, derived from the Russian translation of the text and published by the London-based *Sorakia*.

The economic level:

- Israeli government pledges its economic support for the Palestinian self-rule areas—Gaza and Jericho.
 - The Palestinian transitional government, will allow the Israeli business community to establish commercial and industrial enterprises in the self-rule areas.
 - A special Israeli budget will be created for the benefit of the members of the Palestinian government and their families giving them special privileges and access to such provisions as free education paid for by the Israeli government.
 - Indeed, according to *Sorakia*, the budget of the self-rule government is an indivisible part of the Israeli budget for the development of the self-rule areas.
 - Palestinians have the right to establish banks and/or joint financial institutions and impose taxes in the autonomous areas.
 - The transitional self-rule government, will not object to Israelis selling or buying real estate and will facilitate then, the administrative procedure.
 - The Palestinians have the right to build an airport in Gaza, so long as its security is jointly administered by a Palestinian-Israeli command.
 - A financial support campaign, will be launched by the Israeli government for the self-rule areas. The transitional authority however, is not allowed to receive direct financial support from Israeli donations. Any such funds received will have to be made directly to the Israeli government and made through the special budget.
 - The transitional government will not be entitled to launch any joint financial or commercial projects, nor sign any agreements without the permission of the Israeli government.
 - The import and export of commodities for civilian use, can only be made through the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Trade. Any such decisions will not be taken by the Palestinians singularly.
 - The official currency in Israel and in the self-rule areas will remain the shekel.
 - The self-rule government will not be permitted to have any foreign currency dealings or receive external credit without reference to Israeli economic, trade and financial laws.
 - It will not be permitted to hold any financial, economic, or trade dealings with the Palestinians living outside the self-rule areas, and those living in the Arab countries; but any such dealings must be made through special agreements reached with individual host Arab countries.
 - The Israeli government will facilitate the movement and return of Palestinians wishing to work in the Arab oil countries.
 - The Palestinian self-rule government in turn, will help Israel acquire development projects in the Arab world, after peace has been achieved between Israel and the Arab world.
 - Palestinians in the self-rule areas, will have the right of education in Israeli universities.
- The final part of the secret clauses, those on security arrangements, will be exposed next week in *The Star*.

LA Times-Washington Post News Service

Nato's role:

US, Europe at odds over the pact's future role

By William Drozdiak and Daniel Williams

ALTHOUGH IT has failed to end the war, Western policy in Bosnia-Herzegovina has brought about an important shift in the relationship the United States has with its key allies in Western Europe. For the first time since World War II, Europeans have asserted primacy over Washington in the handling of a key regional conflict.

The United States continues to lead its NATO allies in the construction of a new relationship with Russia. But the refusal of two successive American administrations to commit ground troops to halt fighting in the Balkans reflects what is seen both in Washington and on the continent as a retreat by the United States from active leadership in Europe.

The surge of Russian nationalism, as shown by the ascendancy of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's rightist party in Russia's 12 December parliamentary elections, is likely



One of Nato's exercises

to thwart any full American withdrawal. The United States is still seen as the ultimate guarantor blocking any resurgent imperialism by the world's second nuclear power.

"Russia is the key factor; all others are extraneous," a senior US state department official said. But while the United States maintains its focus on Moscow, the new threat of ethnic warfare

in Europe, as seen in the Balkan conflict, demonstrates a divergence of interests for allies who, as long as the Soviet Union existed, believed their security aims must remain indivisible.

For the first time since World War II, the United States did not take the lead in handling a continental security crisis. The fragmentation of Yugoslavia was seen in Washington as a problem that should be resolved by the European Community, which aspires to build a common foreign and security policy that can assure a zone of stability on the continent.

Many Europeans perceive Washington's reluctance to send even a symbolic contingent to join the 10,000 European troops helping on the ground to deliver humanitarian aid in the former Yugoslavia as part of a

growing American reticence to become involved in any conflict that does not directly affect its national interests.

The Clinton presidency at first signaled a willingness to roll back Serb aggressors in Bosnia who seized territory by force and committed war crimes such as mass rape and the forced evictions known as "ethnic cleansing." But President Clinton's reluctance to put troops on the ground undermined Washington's leverage with the Europeans. In the end, the administration allowed European leaders to block a Clinton plan to arm Bosnia's beleaguered Muslims and use air strikes against attacking Serbs, and has twice gone along with European-backed peace plans that Washington initially opposed—including the current scheme for partition.

Now, even though NATO has prepared, in painstaking detail, a blueprint to enforce an eventual peace agreement in Bosnia, US diplomats acknowledge it seems highly unlikely that the United

States will dispatch half of the 50,000 soldiers necessary to carry out the NATO plan, as Washington initially promised.

Some European diplomats in Washington say the NATO summit scheduled for early next month in Brussels ought to take up the next stage of peace-keeping in Bosnia, in the event an agreement is reached. The diplomats say Europe should seek a new commitment from Clinton, who will be making his first trip as president to Europe, that US troops will participate in implementing any peace agreement. But after debates involving US forces in Somalia and Haiti, US officials say it would take a sustained public relations effort by Clinton to convince Congress and the public of the wisdom of sending troops to the Balkans.

Instead, the Clinton administration is expecting endorsement at the NATO summit of its new plan to build pan-European security, called the *Partnership for Peace*. The proposal would encourage military ties, joint exercises and planning among NATO, the former Warsaw Pact countries and the ex-Soviet republics without extending NATO protection to any of them.

Although the plan is likely to be endorsed, it has not weakened the new belief among US allies that Washington is ceding its dominant security role. The European states to draw up a "stability pact" designed to guarantee minority rights and consolidate frontiers.

"Europe is not in a position to dictate to the United States what its vital national interests should

be, nor is anybody else in the world. On the other hand, Europe cannot wait to identify its own vital and strategic interests until the United States has made up its mind," said Sir Russell Johnston, a member of Britain's Parliament, in a report for the Western European Union, an alliance that focuses on defense.

"Europe must act now and prepare for a future where it will have to defend on its own certain vital and strategic interests it may no longer share with the United States, and will have to handle under the benevolent eye, but without the active participation of, the United States," the report said.

LA Times-Washington Post News Service

Mao remembered by Chinese as fallible hero

By Rone Tempest

BEIJING—ON the 100th anniversary of Mao Tse-tung's birth, President Jiang Zemin has called on the Chinese people to remember the late leader as a national hero who nevertheless made many grave mistakes that the country's current leadership is still trying to rectify.

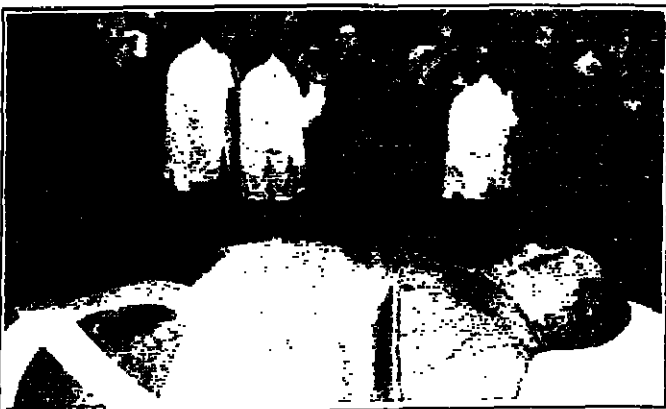
Jiang's nationally televised speech at the Great Hall of the People first praised Mao, then diminished him, casting paramount leader Deng Xiaoping as the man who saved China from Mao's errors. Deng, 89 and believed to be ailing, did not appear in public to acknowledge the anniversary.

All over China Sunday, events commemorating Mao, who died

in 1976, seemed touched by ambivalence toward the man who guided the Chinese revolution but who also launched the country into 10 years of terror during the 1966-76 Cultural Revolution.

One national television network aired scenes from "The Red Detachment of Women" operatic ballet and other patriotic works. Another featured a glitzy two-hour variety show with occasional tearful testimonials from those who fondly remembered China's "Great Helmsman."

But most official speeches and statements were tempered by equal parts praise and criticism of the former Chinese leader, who ruled the People's Republic of China from its creation in 1949 until his death.



Remembering Mao Tse-tung: the 1976 funeral

The most reverent memorials took place in Shaoshan, in Mao's native Hunan province, where a 20-foot-high statue of Mao was unveiled recently.

But at Maxim's, the tony French bistro in one of Beijing's gleaming new high-rise office

complexes, the centennial was turned into a high-camp event for the irreverent arts set and foreign residents. Some of the participants in the Christmas/Mao fete dressed up as Red Guards or as victims of persecution during the Cultural Revolution. A Christmas tree had small Mao photographs as ornaments.

At another club near Beijing University, hundreds of Chinese and foreign students danced to music by the Police, the rock group Ramones and the Beatles—mixed in with cuts of the Chinese national anthem and the Maoist hymn "The East is Red."

"Although in the later part of his life Mao Tse-tung experienced many twists and turns and made a grave mistake in launching the Cultural Revolution," Hu

said, "history will not forget his great deeds and his pioneering spirit of exploration."

After the rally of an estimated 10,000 people where Jiang was the featured speaker, the senior leaders and other VIPs visited Mao's mausoleum in the adjacent Tiananmen Square, site of the 1989 pro-democracy demonstrations.

The general public, including thousands who gathered Sunday on the fringes of the square despite a frigid northerly wind, will not be permitted in the stone mausoleum, where Mao's body is embalmed in a crystal glass case, until Monday.

The Chinese leadership still fears the potential of a populist political movement built around Mao, 17 years after his death. Economic policies under Deng have created yawning disparities in income between urban and rural areas, where Maoism maintains its firmest hold. "In the countryside," said US author and Beijing resident William Hinton, "Mao is still revered."

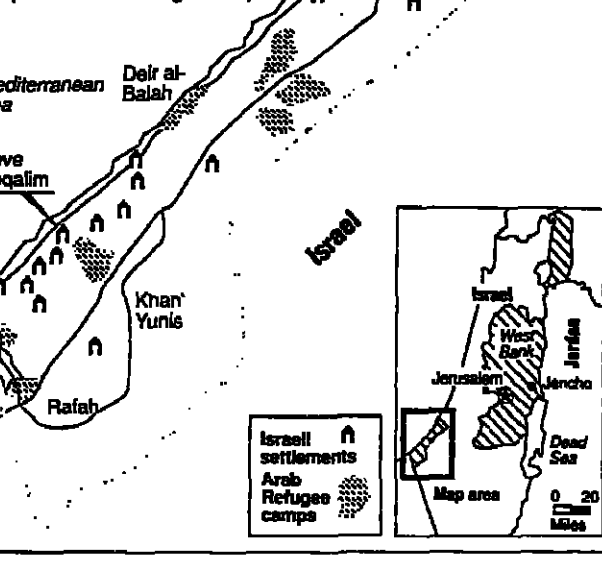
LA Times-Washington Post News Service

Gaza Strip: Land and people

■ Area: 135 square miles, including about 40 square miles of coastal sand dunes. The main town is Gaza, an ancient Philistine city.

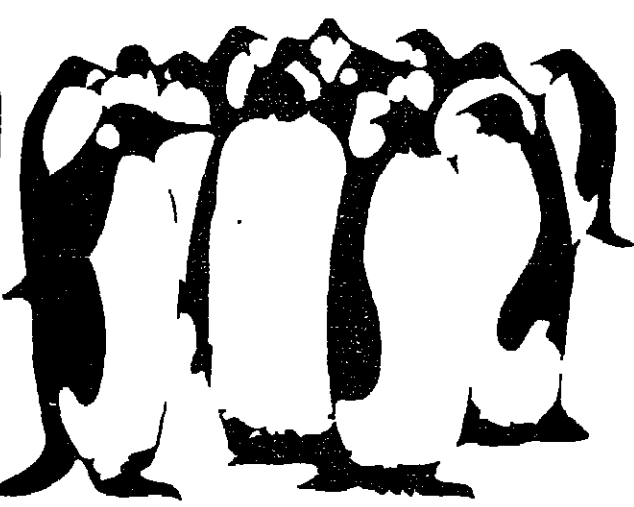
■ Population: About 850,000

Arabs and up to 5,000 Jewish settlers. Sixty percent of the residents are under 18 and nearly 70 percent live in refugee camps.



LA Times-Washington Post News Service

AROUND TOWN



MP attends UNICEF talks at the Amman Marriott Hotel

Ms. Toujan Faisal was given a warm Marriott welcome by members of the management team upon her arrival for the seminar on Cooperation Plans for Arab NGOs on Children Rights Awareness, organized by UNICEF and held at the hotel. (From right to left) Mr. Joseph Khoury, director of sales & marketing, Mr. Richard Lyon, general manager and Mr. Rami Safadi, sales executive. Participants discussed papers on increasing people's awareness of the Children Rights Convention and its implementation, through workshops, studies, and the circulation of information on children.



Depicting subconscious worlds: Mohammad Issa's surrealism at its purest

By Adnan Yahya and Mahmoud Al Abed
Special to The Star

IT IS said that Buddha, failing to solve the endemic problems of humanity, gave up and departed. And just as such, a nagging question keeps recurring: "Why has Mohammad Issa, who was one of the most prominent and prolific artists in Jordan, shunned the Jordanian art movement?"

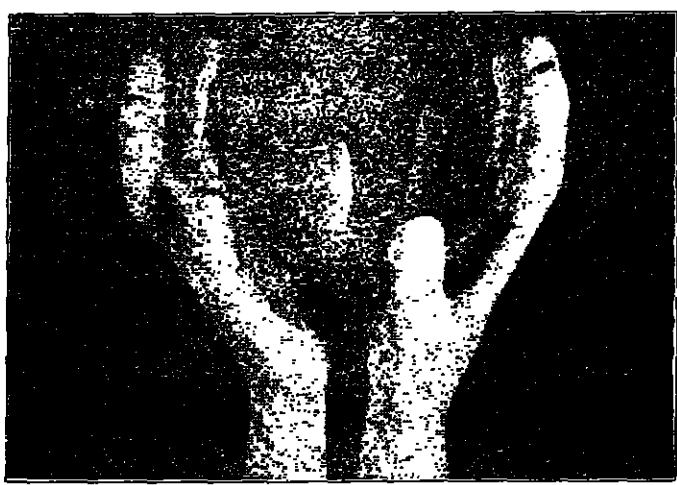
In response to the question, Issa talks bitterly about the obstacles facing any real artist, and about the disappointment that threw him into despair and led him to forsake the march into solitude and isolation. However, the artist foresees an imminent return with confident steps.

In the meantime, he is working on a huge sculpture of solid wood shaped like two big palms reaching up toward 'freedom' and the sky. It is a symbol that makes us optimistic about his breaking the chains of isolation. He will dedicate this masterpiece to Amman; a city he loves passionately.

Jordan's first surrealist painter directed much of his creativity towards uncovering the essence of nature and women, translating both into vivid images.

Issa started as an oil painter. In his paintings, he created a gentle world of surrealism as his subconscious poured forth a stream of dreamlike landscape and human figures.

Then he became a sculptor.



A wooden statue of a pair of hands

According to one critic, Issa "translated his organic surrealist images from his oils into the three dimensions of solid wood. The smoothly polished, curving and elegantly elongated forms, in some cases, give a real aesthetic pleasure."

Another critic draws a similarity between Issa and Ernest Hemingway in that both narrate mythological stories about the sea, and set up expressive dialogues between the characters in a flow of associations. The best example of this is his large oil mural entitled 'A Sun in a Trap', which represents a complete epic.

Issa's work expresses surreal-

ism in its purest form: transparency and ingenious colouring. He depicts subconscious worlds that hold subtle relations with reality.

Issa has a substantial command of his media and is able to depict his visions in the most specific details and novel dimensions. Although Issa was influenced by famous artists, including Pierre Brueghel, Bosch and Salvador Dali, he devoted his art to local and national issues, thus giving a unique flavour to his works.

Women in Issa's works are not only gentle and beautiful creations. On the contrary, he depicts women as a symbol of the earth,



Artist Mohammad Issa

freedom and the homeland using solid wood as a medium. The abundance of empty spaces and details within the sculpture symbolizes his persistent attempts to unveil the secrets of this symbol, and indicates his warm and deep feelings towards it.

Born in Haifa in 1942, Issa led the typically difficult life of the average Palestinian. In the 1960s he went to Kuwait to work as a carpenter and through his experiences witnessed the Palestinian people's struggle for survival in the diaspora.

Issa's surrealism seems highly emotional, raging and violent, yet pure and honest.



Avon: Giving women an opportunity in Jordan

IN THE 1980's, a door-to-door book salesman, David McConnell, often gave his women customers a gift of inexpensive perfume. His gifts were so popular that he decided to start a perfume business. His former employer, now retired in California, suggested a name for this company and the California Perfume Company was born.

By 1939, the California Perfume Company was doing business in 48 states. A new line of products called Avon was introduced in 1929, and in 1939 the company's name officially changed to Avon Products Inc. An international division was set up to handle operations outside North America.

Avon was introduced in the UK, which became the main headquarters outside the US. Today, Avon is one of the world's largest manufacturers of cosmetics, fragrances and toiletries. Avon's products are sold in over 80 countries and has over 1.5 million representatives world-wide.

Avon's products have just been introduced in Jordan through the Malhas Group located in Tla' El Ali. The Star talked to Mrs. Edwina Sorkin, international sales manager of Avon, during her visit to the Malhas Group in Amman and Avon's new agent in Jordan.

"We started work with the Malhas Group few months ago, and we know we have an excellent distributor. Malhas Group has an excellent marketing system in Jordan," Mrs. Sorkin said.

Today more women work with Avon than any other company in the world. "I see enormous potential for Jordan. I think women in Jordan demand an opportunity with Avon. We can see that women here are looking for an opportunity to be independent, and make a career for themselves," she added. "We will be introducing lots of new products from time to time, as the market develops," she said.

British Council undergoes renovation

During January and February, the British Council newsletter will not be published because of a major program of building renovation affecting many of the council's facilities. Renovation will be completed during the first three months of 1994. The British Council is likely to be closed for the public for a week or two in early March.

The good news is that the council will host in April one of Britain's foremost theatre companies, the New Shakespeare Company in a performance of *The Taming of the Shrew*.

★ In the Stars ★

ARIES (21 March-19 April): Do research and you may settle an ongoing argument. Demands of career may infringe on your domestic life.

TAURUS (20 April-20 May): Concentrate on an assignment and still find time to contact a distant friend. Don't expect to get as much work done.

GEMINI (21 May-21 June): You'll be chippy, but don't spend more money than you have. A good time for shopping and returning gifts.

CANCER (22 June-22 July): A tough assignment's due this week. Your mood should improve. You may catch the eye of a suitable romantic prospect.

LEO (23 July-22 August): Check out a group activity. You may learn something. The pressure's on this week. Focus on finishing work you promised.

VIRGO (23 August-22 September): You should be very effective working with a group. That could lead to a more intimate relationship, if you're interested.

LIBRA (23 September-23 October): You're good at expressing ideas, but don't make decisions.

The full moon puts pressure on you. Humor a moody boss.

SCORPIO (24 October-21 November): Take care of paperwork. A great time for travel and for learning.

SAGITTARIUS (22 November-21 December): You may have to invest more than just time in a project this week. Discuss that, and everything, with your best friend.

CAPRICORN (22 December-19 January): This is a very lucky week for you. You'll have to work though reading or writing. Just about everything is in your favor.

AQUARIUS (20 January-18 February): It ought to be a pretty good week, although you're under quite a bit of pressure. Do all the hardest stuff first.

PISCES (19 February-20 March): Don't let an argument with a roommate get you down. Talk it over with friends. They'll probably say you're right.

Jordan must improve tourism infrastructure

By Bilal Hijawi
Star Business Editor

BOASTING THAT Jordan is Petra says little more than a historical fact about the Kingdom. Jordan is more than the Nabatean city Petra. Jordan is the clean sheets a traveller slips under after a long, exhausting drive in the country. Jordan is the nice warm shower a traveller enjoys. Jordan is a smoke-free bus, airport and taxi environment. Jordan is clean streets and plastic-free outdoors. Jordan is a package of hotels, history, nature and hospitality served to the tourist in an original style.

Such conditions make Jordan a tourist attraction and a favorable choice. Or this is what the Kingdom could be when peace blossoms into economic prosperity. Tourism should be shifted to the top of Jordan's national agenda. The Government and private sectors must give tourism top priority.

According to Charles Barker, General Manager of the Forte Grand Amman Hotel, "the market is open for a variety of interests: religious and sun-sea type holidays, and those who come for the historical aspects in Jordan." Other tourists come to get a general feel for the country while there are those who come as part of a group, Mr. Barker adds.

And like all industries, there are segments that maximize the financial rewards of tourism. "A lot of business conferences take place in the Middle East. Jordan could attract much of it if the right policy was implemented," Mr. Barker added.

Incentive business is another important segment in global tourism. "This is when a company takes its top executives or top performers on a holiday for some days," Mr. Barker said. These people spend serious money and Jordan attracts next to nothing in this segment of tourism.

But for Jordan to become a serious contender in this industry, it needs a comprehensive tourism strategy. According to Mr. Barker, Jordan needs to develop a strategic tourism plan to attract a worthy share of regional tourist markets. "Both Government and private sectors will have to coordinate to implement this plan," he said.

The Government should allocate more financial resources for development of the sector while many agencies in Government will need to coordinate their works to develop something comprehensive, and contact in the long term," Mr. Barker told The Star.



Charles Barker, General Manager, Forte Grand

There are a number of success stories in tourism, but finding some of them may prove hard. According to the Forte executive, "the rest house in Umm Qais is an excellent guest house, but remains very difficult to reach. There are no road signs that lead you to that place. Umm Qais, one of Decapolis 10, has been transformed into a unique attraction overlooking Tabarya lake and the Joutan Heights. Kar Zaman and the Tibeh Village are a good example of other original ideas that draw on Jordan's his-

torical resources. But "you can't have a dozen Kar Zaman or Tibeh villages," Mr. Barker contended. The new balloon service offered by the International traders in Wadi Rum is "another original creative idea in tourism."

Government should support the private sector by developing road signs and information services around the country. "Schools for training the human resource are essential if one wants to see this sector developing," Mr. Barker added.

On a different scale, the Forte Grand has been receiving some of the renovation medicine. "Forte had been exercising a rebranding strategy globally, but has been carrying this stage further in the Middle East. We need to increase the number of hotels in the Middle East and very strongly awaken the market to the fact that Forte is a serious top-of-the-range product," said Mr. Barker.

Despite being a comparatively small player in the hotel business, Forte Grand Amman should be seen as a turn-around operation, "where the objective is to offer impressive and innovative services."

Though Forte has always run the hotel, customers thought the old Plaza Hotel a local operation. "We needed to bring the hotel up to its international image to make it more competitive and to internationalize it more," the executive said. "By which I mean it appeared so much to a limited market but did not have a broader spectrum. We needed to expand our base and make it more attractive to an international clientele."

show the Rescuer Down Under. Thursday, 30 December. at 5:00 pm.

• Iraqi artist, Abed Al Jabar Salzman, will hold his solo painting exhibition, The Beduin Culture, at the Royal Cultural Center on Saturday, January 1st 1994, at 5:00 p.m. The exhibition will run through 7 January.

the 100th anniversary of the death of Guy de Maupassant will be on display at the French Cultural Center until 13 January 1994.

• In celebration of Christmas, the French Cultural Center will be closed until 4 January.

FILMS

• The American Center will

Agenda

EXHIBITIONS

• Abdul Hameed Shoman Foundation is hosting an exhibition of paintings by Fakhr El Nissa Zaid at Darat Al Funun until 15 January.

• An exhibition dedicated to

The Star

Tel. 652380



Who are weddings for anyway?

NOT ANXIOUS to attend another superficial 'function', called a wedding, I got into the car and headed towards the hotel.

In the lobby, my husband and I nodded politely to all the familiar faces. Smiling to them and making our way to the elevator, I gazed at the slaughtered minks over the shoulders of women. Laughing to myself, I thought of the weatherman's earlier announcement of a rise in temperature that evening!

Once the elevator's door opened, we were hit by an irritating flash light; the video camera awaited our arrival. The colourful flower bouquets paved our way as we shook hands with a number of unfamiliar faces. However, I did recognize the parents of the bride and groom and their relatives because of the uncanny resemblance, but could not tell who the rest were; including the eight-year-old at the end of the line, busily fixing his bow-tie.

In the hall, we were surprised by the number of people invited. We couldn't see our friend's table and felt awkward. I also felt that everyone was looking at us, not only asking who we are, but commenting on our clothes we wore and wondering what we did for a living! My husband finally spotted our friends, dashed quickly for their table and hence to the safety of anonymity.

We, like everybody else, continued chatting as if this was the very essence of normality, eyes gazed on the most intricate and private of details.

Soon after, in an incredibly loud, boisterous and long entrance, the bride and groom walked in, taking their seats with the guests watching and hushly passing comments about the bride's looks, hair and dress—the groom of course hardly received a mention.

The wedding ceremony ended with a huge applause and soon the mad dancing began. It was difficult to make a conversation after that because of the music and of the fact that we were all too busy watching, making our little irrational judgments at just about everyone, including the waiters and their service!

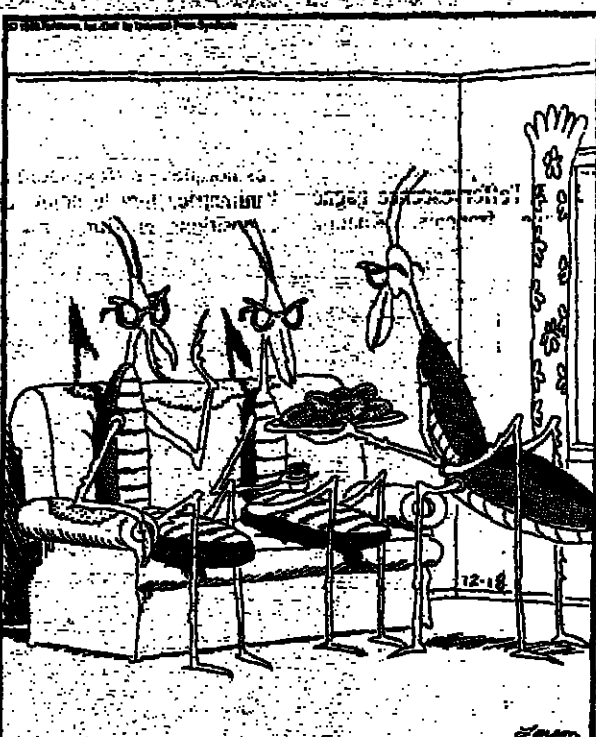
A few hours later, the bell ring opening the buffet. It was then that I became aware of the behavior of 'locusts'. Everyone rushed to the buffet table, surveying the food, complaining about the variety, but piling up enormous amounts anyway!

After the raid was over, the beat was on again and the mad house was in full swing. I kept my distance from the dance floor; plugging my ears with tissues I tried talking, rather shouting, to the closest person next to me.

Much later, we congratulated the exhausted bride and groom and we went back home. Wasn't this wedding like all the rest? It caused distress and frustration to both families and let the fashion-conscious parade themselves in an open house of gossip, a free dinner and dance. So, after all of this, who do you suppose weddings are for?

THE FAR SIDE

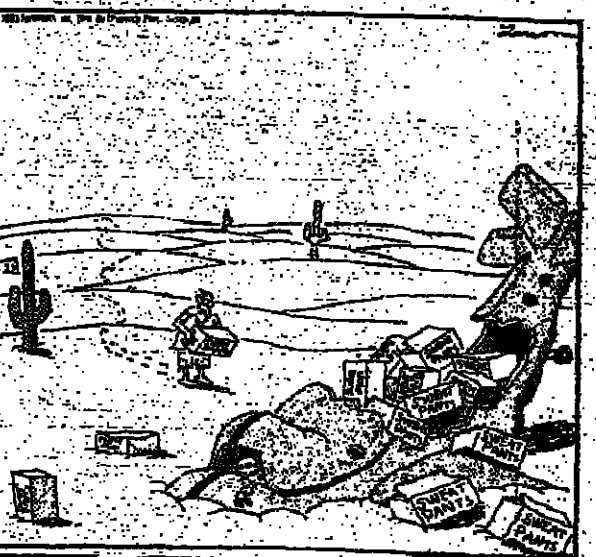
By GARY LARSON



"Oh, good heavens, no, Gladys — not for me... I ate my young just an hour ago."



"OK, I got one—do you say 'darn it' or 'dem it'?"



Le Jourdain

Supplément en français du Star

Lucarne à succès

● Une femme, blonde et en colère, défend de toute son énergie son domaine familial menacé de destruction. "Le château des oliviers" est une saga passionnante sur fond d'intrigues familiales et de découvertes archéologiques dans le cadre enchanteur de la Provence du Sud de la France. Cette série télévisée a remporté un immense succès, cet été, sur les lucarnes françaises et a gagné un "7 d'or", la plus haute récompense du petit écran. "Le château des oliviers", c'est sur la deuxième chaîne tous les mardis à 17h30. Ne ratez pas le premier épisode, cette semaine.

Autre nouveau succès sur la télévision jordanienne: "Tarata", le jeudi à 17h30. Chaque semaine, le séduisant Nagui (l'animateur qui n'en finit pas de monter sur la TV française) reçoit une grande vedette de la chanson. Carte blanche pour l'invité. Prodigeusement réalisée en public, cette émission n'a rien à voir avec les traditionnels shows de variétés. En direct intégral, c'est à chaque fois l'occasion d'un mini-concert de stars. La semaine dernière, on pouvait découvrir Lenny Kravitz chanter aux côtés de Jean-Louis Aubert. Une émission événement.



Première

La radio en français puissance trois

Le 1er janvier, les programmes en français de Radio Jordanie passent de 2 à 6h par jour. Une avalanche de nouveautés sur les ondes et un pari à remporter par l'équipe francophone.

SUR LES ondes, le Père Noël aura une semaine de retard. C'est au matin du premier de l'An que vous trouverez dans vos postes le cadeau de Radio Jordanie: des programmes en français multipliés par trois. Après l'expérience d'une année avec deux heures matinales, la station francophone naît véritablement avec la nouvelle année. De 7h à 24h, diffusion non stop sur 90 FM avec six heures de programmes originaux en français.

"Fin 92, nous avons profité de la visite du président Mitterrand pour démarrer la diffusion en français. Cela avait été très rapide. Il nous a ensuite fallu un an pour trouver des Arabes francophones et pour les former aux techniques radiophoniques", explique Jawad Zada, responsable des services étrangers à la radio. La petite équipe des débuts (Kawther, Haitham, Ossama, Akhram) s'est enrichie de quatre pétillantes jeunes femmes et deux nouvelles recrues sont attendues le mois prochain.

A 14h30, l'effervescence gagne le service français. Khadija s'entraîne à la confection de la revue de la presse jordanienne. Une nouvelle rubrique qu'elle présentera dès samedi matin. Haitham et Thierry sont en studio pour créer génériques et jingles inédits. Chacun repère sa place sur la nouvelle grille. En attendant l'arrivée des nouveaux animateurs, le mois de janvier sera pour tous très chargé.

"La nouvelle formule demande beaucoup plus de travail de préparation et de prise de micro qu'auparavant. L'ambiance aussi

va changer. Il y aura du monde toute la journée au service français. C'est une excellente chose", confie Haitham qui remplit maintenant le rôle de chef d'édition. Pour Thierry, expert français auprès de la radio, une période de rodage est inévitable: "Avec une cascade d'émissions nouvelles, le premier défi sera que tout s'enchaîne bien à l'antenne".

Cumons françaises et infos, le goût du "Croissant Chaud" natal demeure et se prolonge jusqu'à 10h. Un réveil tonique avec des 7h15 un nouveau rendez-vous: "Santé, forme, beauté". Autre rubrique inédite: la revue de presse. Après les titres de 8h, les journaux jordanien sont passés au crible, puis c'est le tour de la presse française après le flash de 9h.

En plus de l'horoscope, des programmes de la télévision et des horaires de Royal Jordanian, l'animatrice fera le point sur les expositions et films à ne pas manquer avec "L'agenda" de 7h45. Elle proposera aussi un "Rendez-vous avec la langue française" à 9h15 et un rappel des grands événements du passé avec "C'est arrivé aujourd'hui" à 9h45.

De 10h à 17h, place à la musique classique. Un moment apprécié par de nombreux auditeurs. Dans le courant de l'année, un animateur devrait annoncer à l'antenne le titre des œuvres programmées. "Nous sommes conscients que diffuser de la musique



De 7h à 20h, Radio Jordanie propose un cocktail de nouveautés en français sur 90 FM. A vos postes dès le 1er janvier!

sans aucune indication n'est pas satisfaisant. Avec de nouvelles recrues, nous allons y remédier rapidement", promet Jawad Zada.

A partir de 17h, Radio Jordanie propose une après-midi en langue française totalement inédite. Elle s'attend à toucher un vaste public nouveau. Si les programmes matinaux s'adressent surtout aux femmes au foyer, l'après-midi va permettre aux personnes actives, étudiants et écoliers de découvrir les émissions en français.

Toutes les heures, l'actualité de la journée est déclinée en "Titres", "Flash info", "Revue de presse" avec comme moment fort le "Journal de sept minutes" à 18h30. Des magazines en alternance ("Filigranes", "Monuments", "Portrait", "Perspectives

internationales") viennent compléter une tranche "tout info" jusqu'à 19h. Dès la seconde moitié de janvier, l'équipe francophone de la radio concoctera un magazine de reportage local. Une émission "maison" sur le modèle du "Jordan Weekly" du service anglais.

Après-midi avant tout de divertissement, la musique se taille la part du lion sur les ondes. Chanson française, bien sûr, mais aussi du Jazz, le dimanche, du Zouk, le mercredi, et du Rai, le vendredi. "Nostalgie" vient combler les amoureux des grands interprètes français. Piaf, Montand, Trénet (...) seront alors au rendez-vous. Retour dans le passé aussi avec "Cette année-là" pour entendre les grands succès des années 60 à nos jours. Et en 30 minutes, le "Portrait de Chanteur" permettra

de mieux connaître une personnalité, sa vie et ses chansons.

Le dimanche, de 18h40 à 19h, les auditeurs sont à la programmation avec l'émission de dédicaces. Envoyez, dès aujourd'hui, vos messages et suggestions par courrier. Ce programme est le vôtre! Enfin, le dernier moment fort de ces après-midi en français sera le "Top France": le classement des chansons les plus populaires du moment. Ce top est le fruit des indications données par une vingtaine de stations francophones éparpillées dans le monde, de l'Asie à l'Amérique du Sud. Un son neuf à écouter deux fois par semaine à partir de la mi-janvier.

Cette nouvelle grille, particulièrement copieuse (voir le tableau ci-contre), n'a pas épuisé toutes les idées de l'équipe de la radio. L'année 94 pourrait voir la création d'une émission d'interview en studio, de directs téléphoniques avec les auditeurs... etc. Radio Jordanie a choisi le mouvement. Aux auditeurs de suivre. Pour Jawad Zada, le "cadeau du 1er janvier" n'est qu'une étape: "Il y a 20 ans, le service en anglais émettait 2 heures et demie par jour. Depuis, nous sommes passés à 17 heures quotidiennes. Le service en français suivra le même chemin". Premier pas dès samedi. Alors, calez-vous sur 90 FM!

Florent Chevalleau

Choisissez vos chansons préférées, dédicacez-les à vos amis en écrivant à Radio Jordanie: Radio Jordan French Section PO BOX 909 AMMAN

La nouvelle grille sur 90 FM

7h à 10h: Croissant Chaud

- 07:15: Santé, Forme, Beauté
- 07:30: Le Journal
- 07:45: L'Agenda (Expos, Films...)
- 08:00: Les Titres de l'Actualité
- 08:02: Revue de la Presse Jordanienne
- 08:05-08:15: Séquence Internationale
- 08:15: L'Horoscope
- 08:30: Parler au Quotidien (samedi, dimanche, lundi, mardi, mercredi)
- 08:45: Programmes de la Télévision
- 09:00: Flash Info
- 09:04: Revue de la Presse Française
- 09:15: Rendez-vous avec la Langue Française
- 09:30: Horaires de Royal Jordanian
- 09:45: C'est Arrivé Aujourd'hui
- 10:00: Flash Info

10h à 17h: Musique Classique

17h à 20h: Les Nouveautés

- 17:00: Flash Info
- 17:04-17:30: Jazz (dimanche)
- 17:30: L'Agenda
- 17:33-18:00: Nostalgie (dimanche)
- 18:00: Les Titres de l'Actualité
- 18:02-18:30: Portrait de Chanteur (mardi)
- 18:30: Le Journal
- 18:37: Revue de la Presse Jordanienne
- 18:40-19:00: Filigranes (lundi)
- 19:00: Les Titres de l'Actualité
- 19:03: Revue de la Presse Française
- 19:05-20:00: Le Top France (lundi et jeudi, courant janvier)
- 19:55: Flash Info

20h à 24h: Reprise des Emissions en Anglais

Jordanie Express

ISLAMISTES - Les élections au sein du Front d'action islamique ont vu la victoire des modérés. Plusieurs leaders extrémistes, comme le député Abu Zant, n'ont pas réussi à gagner un siège dans le Conseil du parti. Pour la première fois, une femme a été élue à ce conseil.

SYNDICAT - Le Parlement examine, en ce moment, un projet de loi pour la création de syndicats d'enseignants. Après son adoption par la Chambre basse, c'est au tour du Sénat de débattre de ce texte. Le Haut conseil pour l'interprétation de la loi a jugé le projet contraire à la Constitution. Le Sénat a donc décidé de le renvoyer devant sa commission judiciaire.

DETTE - L'Allemagne annule 9,5 millions DJ de la dette de la Jordanie à son égard. C'est la deuxième fois, cette année, que les autorités allemandes décident une telle mesure pour soulager l'économie jordanienne. La dette jordanienne envers l'Allemagne chute ainsi de 234 millions DJ à 213 millions.

BANQUE - A la demande de l'OLP, le gouvernement décide de retarder l'ouverture de succursales de banques jordanien dans les Territoires occupés. Le mois dernier, la Banque centrale avait encouragé les banques du Royaume à étudier la réouverture de leurs branches cisjordanien fermées après la Guerre de 1967.

Sourire à l'antenne

Documentaliste de formation, Khadija est devenue une "pro" de l'animation et des infos en quelques semaines. Rencontre avec une voix française de la radio.

KHADIJA, C'EST le sourire. Sa bonne humeur illumine les matinales de la radio en français depuis bientôt trois mois. Diplômée en sciences de l'information, cette jeune femme de 29 ans était bibliothécaire dans une université marocaine à Rabat. Mariée à un Jordanien, elle est à Amman depuis un an. Avant août, elle n'avait jamais pénétré dans un studio de radio.

"La première fois que je me suis retrouvée devant le micro, j'étais pétrifiée. Même le fait d'entendre ma voix me dérangeait". Pour Khadija, comme pour les trois autres jeunes femmes engagées cet été, la radio représentait un défi angoissant.

En quelques semaines, Khadija, Yasmine, Nassima et Fadila ont dû apprendre toutes les ficelles d'un nouveau métier. Et même de deux métiers puisqu'elles sont à la fois animatrices et journalistes. "A l'époque, je ne me sentais absolument pas à la hauteur. Mais le fait de travailler en équipe m'a beaucoup aidé", confie la souriante animatrice.

Rédaction des titres, du flash, du journal, de la revue de presse; techniques de reportage, de montage; lancement des chansons, confection de rubriques, exercices au micro: les quatre nouvelles, devenues amies, n'ont pas chômé pendant leur formation assurée par l'équipe initiale du service français. Dès septembre, elles étaient à l'antenne.



Leur français irréprochable a séduit les fidèles de "Croissant chaud" et leur enthousiasme est aujourd'hui un atout pour la réussite de la nouvelle formule lancée le 1er janvier. "Elles sont excellentes", reconnaît Haitham, un des piliers du service français. "A l'aise, gaies, souriantes, elles n'ont pas à rougir de la comparaison avec des animatrices sur les radios françaises".

Avec l'ouverture des programmes l'après-midi, chacune a voulu un rendez-vous régulier avec les auditeurs. Une façon d'apposer sa grille, de privilégier ses goûts musicaux, de fidéliser sa propre audience



Khadija perfectionne sa technique de la revue presse pour être prête dès samedi matin.

sur une demi-journée précise. Fan des rythmes endiablés, Khadija présentera la demi-heure de Zouk, le mercredi. Elle a aussi donné l'idée des portraits de chanteurs, mais elle ne sera pas la seule à animer ce nouveau programme hebdomadaire.

Pour Khadija, le défi c'est l'animation: "J'aime ce contact chaleureux avec les gens. Je me sens plus dévouée, plus naturelle lorsque je présente les informations". Ce contact établi à travers les ondes réconforte beaucoup la jeune dévouée. "A l'antenne, j'ai l'impression d'exister. Cela comble mon isolement".

Khadija n'est pas exemptée pour autant de ses devoirs d'actualité. Trois fois par semaine, elle présentera la revue de presse jordanienne, puis française. Les journaux étalés devant elle, le dictionnaire à portée de main, elle s'entraîne à cet exercice difficile. "La préparation de la revue de presse dure au moins deux heures".

En suivant Khadija en studio, qui pourrait songer que cette femme rayonnante et désinvolte face au micro était une novice il y a cinq mois à peine? Elle n'a pourtant pas gommé toutes ses angoisses. "Lorsque je dois être à la radio à 4h du matin pour préparer les journaux, je ne peux pas fermer l'œil de la nuit. J'ai trop peur de ne pas me réveiller!". Pour samedi prochain, au moins, elle ne sera pas la seule... Réveillon de la St Sylvestre oblige.

F.C.

Conférence Les droits de l'enfant conformes à la Sharia

La Conférence de l'UNICEF, à Amman, s'est penchée sur l'application de la Convention des droits de l'enfant. Certains pays musulmans demeurent récalcitrants.

SEULS QUATRE pays musulmans n'ont pas encore ratifié la Convention internationale des droits de l'enfant. Malgré des modifications du texte pour le rendre compatible avec la loi islamique (sharia), ces Etats continuent de camper sur leurs positions. A tort.

Depuis 1989, année de la signature de la convention par l'Assemblée générale des Nations-Unies, 147 pays ont soutenu les principes posés par ce texte de référence. La plupart, dont la Jordanie, a déjà pris les mesures nécessaires pour réaliser "un monde meilleur" à leurs enfants.

Au cours de la conférence organisée, la semaine dernière, à Amman, par le Fonds des enfants des Nations-Unies, le Dr Saïed Dakkak a présenté à la tribune un papier détaillé sur la compatibilité de la loi islamique avec la Convention des droits de l'enfant. Il a prouvé comment ce texte insiste sur les principes et les libertés prônées par l'islam et garantit les droits principaux de l'individu et de l'enfant.

L'opposition des pays musulmans contre la convention lors de la Conférence d'Alexandrie en 1988 était concentrée sur trois points principaux: la liberté de la religion, les droits des parents et le principe de l'adoption.

Lors de la deuxième lecture de la convention, les objections soulevées par les pays musulmans ont été prises en compte. Plusieurs modifications ont été introduites pour que ce texte puisse être adop-



Les droits de l'enfant existent dans une convention internationale depuis 1989. Mais, plusieurs pays musulmans refusent encore de ratifier ce texte.

té par tous les pays du monde. Toutefois, certains États restent encore des réserves.

Sur le premier point, Dr Dakkak a montré que la liberté de la religion est la liberté pour les minorités de pratiquer leur religion dans le pays où ils résident. "Le problème pour les enfants dans le monde arabe n'est évidemment pas de changer leur foi ni de les convertir à une autre religion. Ce qu'il nous faut est d'obtenir leur droit de penser et d'exprimer leurs réflexions librement".

La convention insiste aussi sur le droit de la famille et des parents que les enfants doivent respecter. A maintes reprises, la convention fait allusion aux droits de la famille. L'article trois, par exemple, garantit le bien-être des enfants "en tenant compte des droits et des responsabilités de leurs parents ou de leurs gardiens".

Le troisième point, considéré comme le plus important et le plus sensible, est l'article concernant l'adoption. En principe, la loi musulmane interdit l'adoption. Selon elle, le nom de l'enfant ne doit pas être modifié et remplacé par celui

de ses parents d'adoption. La convention, qui reconnaît l'adoption comme le système principal employé par les pays signataires, a été modifiée au cours de la deuxième lecture.

A présent, le texte inclut le terme "kafala" avec d'autres modes de protection parentale, excluant ainsi le système d'adoption comme la seule méthode appliquée. Dans la loi islamique, le "kafala" stipule que les parents désirent adopter un enfant n'ont pas le droit de lui donner leur nom de famille. Selon la convention, le rôle des parents se limite à fournir la protection et l'aide nécessaire à l'enfant adopté afin qu'il puisse mener une vie normale. "La flexibilité et l'universalité ca-

Sa'eda Kilani

The Star's TV GUIDE

Programs on JTV from 1-7 January

Panorama Wednesday, at 9:00 pm

ENGLISH PROGRAMS

SATURDAY

08:30 — The Fanelli Boys
09:00 — Talk Show
09:30 — The Campbells
10:00 — News at Ten
10:20 — Feature Film: Big Business. Starring Bette Midler, Lily Tomlin. Bizarre happenings occur when two identical twins check into the same hotel.

SUNDAY

08:30 — You Bet Your Life, with Bill Cosby.
09:10 — The Power Game
10:00 — News at Ten
10:20 — Island Son. A mother faces anguish and morality about whether to donate her dying daughter's heart to a boy with heart failure.
11:10 — The Golden Palace

MONDAY

08:30 — The Torkelsons
09:10 — Thirty Something. While Nancy is in hospital for a cancer operation, Mike receives some shocking news about a friend.
10:00 — News at Ten
10:20 — Clayton. Lee Van Cleef plays the role of a sheriff who is after a family responsible for a number of crimes.

TUESDAY

08:30 — The Respected Family
09:10 — Man and the Machine. The police are after brokers who sell Romanian babies for adoption to American families.
10:00 — News at Ten
10:20 — Cape Rebel. In South Africa, the Boer War prisoners are taken to St. Helena Island.

Never ceasing to be funny, Cosby improvises jokes on the spot in *You Bet Your Life*, Sunday, at 8:30



This is the story of one prisoner who prefers a sentence for life than facing a firing squad.
11:10 — Night Court. Dan is bitten by a dog.

WEDNESDAY

08:30 — Too Close for Comfort
09:00 — Panorama: Peace made in Hell. A trip behind the scenes into the making of Europe's most vulnerable new states.
10:00 — News at Ten
10:20 — Till Murder Do Us Part

THURSDAY

08:30 — Flesh and Blood. Rachel, a lawyer, finally meets

her long-lost brother.
09:10 — Da Beat's On
10:00 — News at Ten
10:20 — Movie of the Week: Marked for Murder. Upon the recommendation of a psychiatrist, a tough prisoner is set free to help with police work!

FRIDAY

08:30 — Walter and Family. Zack, while at his grandparents' house, pretends to be sick to avoid going to school.
09:10 — Faces and Places
10:00 — News at Ten
10:20 — The River Kings
11:10 — Yes Minister

PROGRAMMES FRANÇAIS

SAMEDI

05:30 — Les Aventuriers de L'espace
05:41 — L'Ecole des Fans
06:30 — Beaumanoir
07:00 — Le Journal
07:15 — Ushuaia

DIMANCHE

5:30 — Film: Des Cadavres à la Pelle (Part II)
07:00 — Le Journal
07:15 — Fenêtre Sur

LUNDI

05:30 — Géopolis
06:30 — Magazine Local, présenté par Saleh Madi
07:00 — Le Journal
07:15 — Magazine Sportif

MARDI

05:30 — Le Chateau des Oliviers (Episode I)
06:00 — Beaumanoir
07:00 — Le Journal
07:15 — Variétés

MERCREDI

05:30 — Ordy
06:00 — Sports: NBA
07:00 — Le Journal
07:15 — Le Journal de L'Histoire

JEUDI

05:30 — Taratata
07:00 — Le Journal
07:15 — Rencontre

VENDREDI

05:30 — Les Clés de Fort Boyard
07:00 — Le Journal
07:15 — Le Cirque Mondial

Recommended Listeners

A Real Dead One
Iron Maiden

IRON MAIDEN has released nine albums since 1980. They met with enormous success especially in Europe but their popularity in the States took a dive in the late 1980s.

Earlier this year Iron Maiden released another live album, *A Real Live One*, featuring classic tracks made since 1986. This was followed by *A Real Dead One*, an album that continued Iron Maiden's expose of their earlier songs.

A Real Live One disappointed me. It is completely unoriginal and is not the best work of Iron Maiden, as I am sure most of their fans would agree. This disappointment continued as their last album *Fear of the Dark*, was simply terrible.

Listening to classics like *Hallowed Be Thy Name* or *Where Eagles Dare* brings back images of one of the greatest heavy metal bands that ever existed.

Compared to their legendary *Live After Death*, it is obvious that the band has lost its edge, since the aforementioned album has better versions of live tracks than *A Real Dead One*.

This album contains 12 songs, 7 of which were previously released in *Live After Death*. So, if you already have this album, think twice before buying the new one.

A Real Dead One kicks off with *The Number of the Beast*. The Trooper, then a track originally performed by ex-vocalist Paul Di Anno, who performed in the first two albums with Iron Maiden. On the A side, there are actually five other tracks from the first two albums, including an instrumental: *Transylvania* and *Remember Tomorrow* with Bruce Dickinson rendering special versions of these songs.

Side B starts with a bad version of *Sanctuary*, but contains two of the Maiden's best live tracks: *Running Free* and *Iron Maiden*.

The release of this album is meant to mark a new era in the band's history; an era that might end the spell of death on the band since vocalist Bruce Dickinson left (the band's first shock came when guitarist Adrian Smith took a hike). Besides his unique voice, Bruce was one of the band's most influential members.

Finding a proper replacement for Dickinson was far from easy, but the band is determined to go on and a replacement will be announced soon, with the possibility that their old vocalist might come back.

I've always been an ardent fan of Iron Maiden, and I don't think that this turn to a British-style New Wave Metal is doing them any good. They must go back to their original classic sound or, quite frankly, be doomed!

Ayman Shihadeh



Jordanian TOP 30

Prepared by Stallions Co.

Artist	Title
1 Meat Loaf	Bad Out of Hell II
2 Bryan Adams	So Far So Good
3 Guns'n'Roses	The Spaghetti Incident
4 Mariah Carey	Music Box
5 Scorpions	Face the Heat
6 Nirvana	In Utero
7 Pet Shop Boys	Very
8 Billy Joel	River of Dreams
9 Pearl Jam	V.S.
10 Phil Collins	Both Sides
11 Radio Head	Pablo Honey
12 Kiss Kross	Da Bomb
13 U2	Zooropa
14 Def Leppard	Retrospective
15 Iron Maiden	A Real Dead One
16 Chaka Demus & Pliers	Tease Me
17 Khalel	N'ssi N'ssi
18 Gloria Estefan	Mi Tierra
19 Refinda Carlisle	Real
20 Dr Dre	The Chronic
21 UB40	Promises & Lies
22 Blind Melon	Blind Melon
23 Prince	The Hits I & II
24 Color Me Bad	Time & Chance
25 Common Thread	The Songs of the Eagles
26 Soundtrack	Lost Action Hero
27 Billy Idol	Cyberpunk
28 2 Unlimited	No Limits
29 Paul Young	The Crossing
30 Melissa Etheridge	Yes I Am

TOP POP ALBUMS

1. Back to Broadway. Barbra Streisand, Columbia
2. Janet. Janet Jackson, Virgin
3. Unplugged...and Seated. Rod Stewart, Warner Bros.
4. The Chronic. Dr. Dre, Interscope
5. Core. Stone Temple Pilots, Atlantic
6. Sleepless in Seattle. Soundtrack, Epic
7. The Bodyguard. Soundtrack, Arista
8. Breathless. Kenny G, Arista

TOP POP SINGLES

1. Whoomp! Tag Team, Life
2. Weak. SWV, EastWest
3. Can't Help Falling in Love. UB40, Virgin
4. Knockin' Da Boots. H-Town, Luke
5. That's the Way Love Goes. Janet Jackson, Virgin
6. Freak Me. Silk, Elektra
7. Show Me Love. Robins S. Big Beat
8. I'll Never Get Over You. Exposé, Arista
9. Dre Day. Dr. Dre, Interscope

SPOTPIX

IT'S A COLD NIGHT TO BE WAITING ON A MOVIE LINE. BALLOON BEAR, CACTUS, DAISY, FLAMINGO, GHOST, HEART, PAPER PLANE, SKIER, SLICE OF PIZZA, PYRAMID, SNOWMAN.

I've been on line waiting for a movie to come to see!

The letters of these crazy words are all mixed up. To play the game, put them back into the right order so that they make real words you can find in your dictionary. Write the letters of each real word under each crazy word but only one letter to a square.

PSY
LOPT
ELLF
YURJ

Answer here:

STANDING ON THE OUTSIDE OF A SPACESHIP AND LOOKING THROUGH A TELESCOPE, WHAT SHOULD YOU WATCH?

Answer: SPY. Plot fell jury.

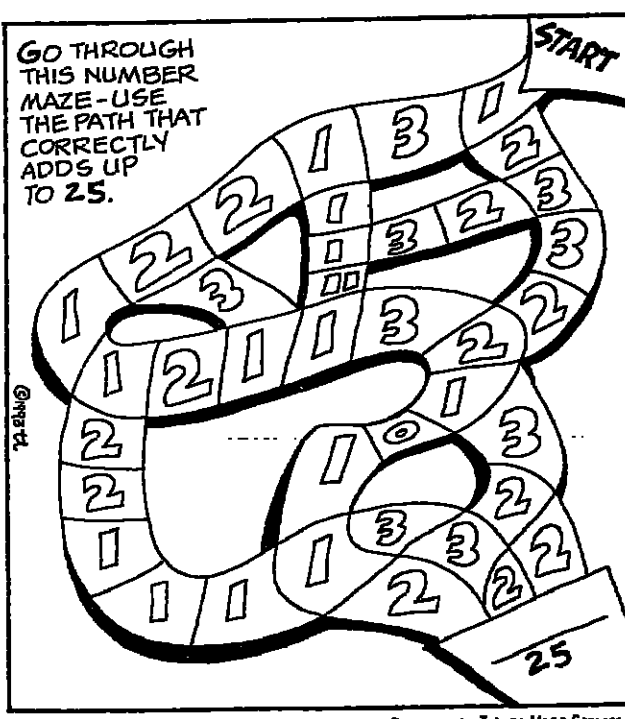
SNAPDRAGON by Steve Barr

GREAT PARTY, WIZARD!
THANK YOU! SNAPPY IS IN CHARGE OF THE REFRESHMENTS.

WHAT DO YOU RECOMMEND?

DON'T ASK HIM FOR A PUNCH!

BARR



Discontinued by Tribune Media Services

Bridge

By Tannah Hirsch

Bridge Crimes Can Pay
Both vulnerable. West deals.

NORTH

♠ Void
♥ Q 8 6 5
♦ A K 10 9 7 4 3
♣ A Q

WEST EAST
♠ A K J 9 3 ♠ Q 10 6 5 2
♥ J 10 2 ♥ K
♦ 5 ♦ 6 2
♣ K 8 7 2 ♣ J 10 6 4 3

SOUTH
♠ 8 7 4
♥ A 9 7 4 3
♦ Q J 8
♣ 9 5

The bidding:
West North East South
1 ♠ DBL 4 ♠ Pass
Pass DBL Pass 6 ♥
Pass Pass DBL Pass
Pass Pass

Opening lead: King of ♠

In the best of all possible worlds, you would be rewarded for your good deeds and punished for your crimes. In real life, unfortunately, that is not always the case.

When North could force his partner to bid at the five-level vulnerable with his repeat takeout double, South judged that his cards would all be working, so he leaped to six hearts. East's did not have a double of seven hearts, let alone six. However, his action had strange repercussions in the play.

West led the king of spades, ruffed in dummy. Declarer could think of no reason for East's double other than a trump stack. In order to hold his trump losers to two should East have started with all four trumps, declarer elected to lead the queen at trick two. That also offered a chance to make the contract should West have a singleton jack or ten.

West covered perforce, and declarer won the ace. There was still one chance for the contract—that trumps were 2-2—so declarer led a trump. West was able to take two trump tricks and two spades for down three—800 points out of thin air.

Had there been no double, declarer would have made the contract easily. The normal way to play the trump suit is to cash the ace, then lead toward the queen. Since the king would have dropped, declarer would have had no trouble in holding his trump losers to only one, so he would have romped home with his contract.

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WORD WISE

Q: I consider myself a careful writer, but I'm always stumped by the use of beside and besides. No matter what I write, it never looks right. Can you give me a simple rule to guide me?

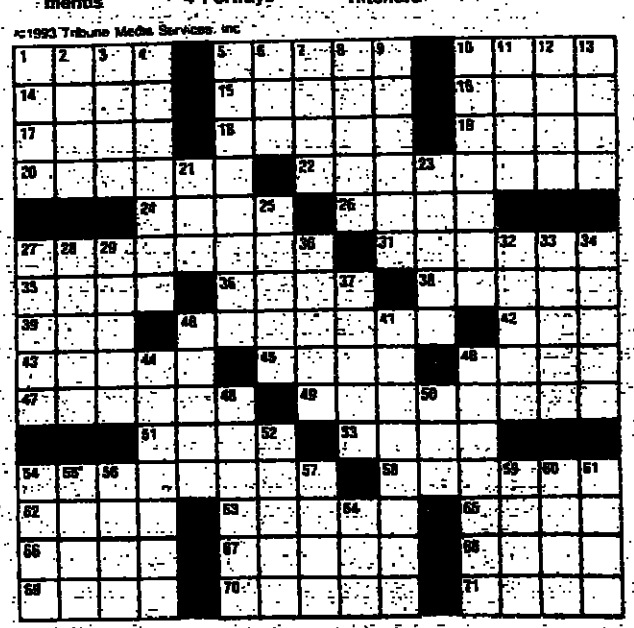
A: Both words can be used as prepositions and adverbs. But that probably doesn't clear up your confusion. I hope this does: Beside means at the side of. For example, "My cat likes to sit beside me," or "Shirley was beside herself with grief when her husband died." Besides means in addition to or other than. For example, "Besides John, two other men are going camping," or "I opted not to go; besides, I wasn't invited."

Send questions or comments for Word Wise to P.O. Box 4367, Orlando, Fla. 32802-4367.

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CROSSWORD PUZZLE

ACROSS
1 Parched
5 Supreme
10 Happiness
14 Box in a theater
15 Uncanny
16 Dry the dishes
17 Fly up and around
18 "Lone—"
19 Lighthearted
20 Where Lake Victoria is
22 Amounted to
24 Snug
26 Opening
27 One-celled animals
31 Give way
35 Deprivation
36 Sen—
38 Spring
39 French friend
40 Criticize
42 —compos mentis
43 Indigent
45 Kind of club
46 Bugle call
47 Bullfighter
48 Sideways
51 Evergreen trees
53 Land of speleothems
54 Control
58 Not frequently
62 Solar disk
63 Mystical card
65 Celebrity
66 Powder
67 Sidestepped
68 Mine car
69 Aide; abbr.
70 Discourage
71 Leander's love
72 Overwhelm
75 Constellation
76 Golf club
78 Body cavity
79 Proper
80 Add honey
81 False one
82 Church area
83 Unwanted
84 Bill and
85 Western capital
86 Offspring
87 Factory
88 Ill-lated lower
89 Willow rod
90 Passageway
92 Hawaiian
93 Fumbles
94 Signification
97 Glove material
98 Actor
99 Ritchard
41 Record book
44 Inoperative
46 The Bard's "Night"
48 Spoke to an audience
50 Previous to
52 Strip of wood
54 Greek letters
56 Becomes more solid
57 Part of QED
58 Challenge
60 Start
61 Office note
64 Poem



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FEELIN' FIT!

With the onset of cold weather, be sure that outdoor exercise is done with proper gear. Layers tend to work best, but don't be too eager to shed them; your body temperature can fool you into thinking it's warm and instead you wind up with a case of frostbite!

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Crossword Puzzle

ACROSS
1. Record book
2. Inoperative
3. Bard's "Night"
4. Spoke to an audience
5. Previous to
6. Strip of wood
7. Greek letters
8. Becomes more solid
9. Part of QED
10. Challenge
11. Start
12. Office note
13. Poem
14. Indigent
15. Kind of club
16. Bugle call
17. Bullfighter
18. Sideways
19. Evergreen trees
20. Land of speleothems
21. Control
22. Not frequently
23. Solar disk
24. Mystical card
25. Celebrity
26. Powder
27. Sidestepped
28. Mine car
29. Aide; abbr.
30. Discourage
31. Leander's love
32. Overwhelm
33. Constellation
34. Golf club
35. Body cavity
36. Proper
37. Add honey
38. False one
39. Church area
40. Unwanted
41. Bill and
42. Western capital
43. Offspring
44. Factory
45. Ill-lated lower
46. Willow rod
47. Passageway
48. Hawaiian
49. Fumbles
50. Signification
51. Glove material
52. Actor
53. Ritchard
54. Record book
55. Inoperative
56. The Bard's "Night"
57. Spoke to an audience
58. Previous to
59. Strip of wood
60. Greek letters
61. Becomes more solid
62. Part of QED
63. Challenge
64. Start
65. Office note
66. Poem

Activities

Royal Cultural Centre	6610267	Plaza Cinema	699238
American Centre Library	820101	Philadelphia Cinema	634144
British Council	636147/8		
French Cultural Centre	637009		
Goethe Institute	641993		
Russian Cultural Centre	641158		
Spanish Cultural Centre	624049		
Turkish Cultural Centre	639777		
Haya Arts Centre	665195		
Hussein Youth City	667181/5		
Y.W.C.A.	642251		
Nabl Al Mashini Theatre	675571		
Nabl & Hisham's Theatre	625155		
Concord Cinema	677420		

Sports Clubs

Al Hussein Sports City	667181
Orthodox Club	810491
Royal Automobile Club	815410
Royal Shooting Club	736572
Royal Chess Club	673713
Royal Racing Club	09-801233
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Univ. of Jordan Library	843555
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Czechoslovakian	665105
Danish Consulate Gen	803703
French Consulate	824654/824676
French	641273/4
German	689331
Greek	671331/2
Hungarian	815614
Irish Consulate	698851
Indian	637262
Indonesian	828911
Iranian	639331
Iraqi Consulate Gen.	623632
Italian	638185
Japanese	672486/7
Kuwaiti	675135/8
Libyan	693101/3
Lebanese	641381
Moroccan	641451
Netherlands	637967/625165
New Zealand Consulate	636720
North Korean	666349
Norwegian Consulate	827926
Omani	686155
Pakistani	622787
Palestine	677517
People's Rep. of China	666139
Philippines	645161
Polish	637153
Qatari	682666
Romanian	667738
Russian	641158
Saudi Arabian	814154/6
Sri Lanka Consulate	645312
South Korean	660745/6
Spanish	614166/9
Sudanese	644251/2
Swedish	669177/9
Swiss	686416/7
Syrian	641076
Taiwan	671530
Turkish	674307/8
Turkish	641251
U.A.E.	643347/643341
British	823100
American	820101
Yemen	642381
EEC Delegation	668191
ESCWA	694351/8
ICRC	688645
UNDP/WFP	668171/7
UNRWA	669194/8
UNICEF	629571
UNESCO	606359

Airlines

Adria Airways	667029
Aeroflot	641510
Air Canada	630879
Air France	666055/667824
Air India	688301/2
Air Lanka	682140
Alitalia	625203
Alyemda (Air Yemen)	653691
American Airlines	669068
Arab Wings	894484
Austrian Airlines	637380/667028
Balkan Airlines	665909
British Midland	694802
British Airways	641430
Cathay Pacific	628596
China Airlines	636232
Cyprus Airways	667028
Delta Air Lines	643661
Egypt Air	630011
Emirates Airlines	643341
Gulf Air	653613
Hungarian Airlines	622275
Iberia	637827/644036
Iran Air	622826
Japan Air Lines	630879
KLM	622175
Korean Airlines	676624/662346
Libyan Arab Airlines	643831/2
Lufthansa	601744
Malaysian Airlines	639575/653446
MEA	636104
Olympic	630125/638433
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THE STAR'S WORKING COMPUTING & HIGH TECH NOTES

Edited by Zeid Nasser

Computer Companies:

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Pentium, NT, multimedia and price wars: 1993 in a nutshell

WHAT A year 1993 was for computing. Like years before, it included the usual variety of new products, ground breaking technologies, more computerization of our life styles and a continuation of our journey along the technological superhighway to the information age. On the other hand it included all sorts of new battles of standards between hardware and software producers with new alliances, breakups and bankruptcies. For computer users, it's been a very interesting year. It would be very difficult to include all the major product releases and every important incident, but here's a fast look at probably the most notable events of the year.

The year of the notebook & advanced PDAs

This must have been the year of the notebook computer, with lighter models with better power management facilities, thanks in part to Intel's power saving processors. Notebooks now come with built in trackballs, PCMCIA slots, huge hard disks and crisp color screens. You got all the power of a desktop 486, at under six kilograms.

Sub-notebooks also appeared with most of the notebooks' features but at a little weight as two kilograms! Still, powerful and

reliable sub-notebooks have not spread.

This year saw the release of the long awaited Apple Newton MessagePad, which proved to be a very good product of its genre of Personal Digital Assistants (PDAs) with good hand-writing recognition and excellent communication abilities. All that and



the support of Apple with further products in the Newton series and licensing Newton technology to the likes of Sharp, could make the Newton a pen-based standard. On the other hand, pen-based PCs failed for the second year running to pick up.

Intel launched the Pentium

Named like a gasoline product, Intel's follow up to the 486 proved to be a troubled one with

heating problems and increased competition from RISC producers who were not only promising cheaper, faster alternatives, but were also promising that they would run the thousands of Intel-based software packages. The Pentium was Intel's way out of a difficult situation by which competitors like AMD and Cyrix started to produce 486 clones at lower prices. Computer manufacturers welcomed the Pentium and almost all of them included a Pentium upgrade feature in their 486 PCs. This definitely did not mark the end of the 486, which has now become an entry-level standard, but it has meant the end of the 386 which most manufacturers have already discontinued.

Power to the people, losses to manufacturers

The price wars that started late in 1992 went on into the beginning of 1993 with phenomenally low priced 486 PCs available to the public. Suddenly, everybody was word processing on a 486DX! Tumbling prices and increased competition by new entrants, whose names nobody can even remember, meant lower

Many products released by Alalamiah and more on the way: Alalamiah is to Arabise Borland applications

ALALAMIAH IS to Arabise Borland's Quattro Pro spreadsheet and Paradox database products and should have versions in Arabic already. This was announced by Alalamiah's general manager, Mr. Ash-Zaki, during GITEX '93 in Dubai last month. Mr. Ash-Zaki said that, "Our advanced Arabisation can be added upon to Arabise virtually all software packages, and it is openness in our approach has brought Borland to Alalamiah. In comparison Microsoft does not offer its Arabisation to developers in the way that Alalamiah does. Our transparent solution allow Arabic data to be into all English applications. Also, using transparency remove the time lag in developing Arabic software. The Arabic solutions we have built will give total portability of data and files. For example, Adobe Type Manager doesn't run on Arabic Windows, whereas it runs seamlessly on Sakhr.

Last year was a good year for Alalamiah who released a number of products, most important of which was Sakhr Arabic Windows 4 which Alalamiah have used to Arabise Workgroup programs, Windows 3.1 and Windows NT.

Another important product is Al Moharrer Arabic word processor which combines transparency with powerful features such as OLE, all in Arabic, including data integration with other facilities. It includes an Arabic/English spell checker.

Also released, was Alalamiah's Arabic Full Text Database, bringing

intelligent Arabic language processing to the PC.

There are plans for early 1994 to release Al Ustaz, a high powered Windows word processor, with features such as Arabic spell checker, indexing, Islamic Artworks including lines and borders, and calligraphic quality fonts—all practical productivity features which are easy to use.

Alalamiah is developing high-end Arabic products including OCR in Arabic, an Arabic grammar spell checker, Arabic DTP and AI-based Arabic fonts which more closely replicate hand-written calligraphy.

In 1994, Alalamiah will ship an engine which connects calligraphy in a more traditional way, allowing contraction, expansion of words, overlapping etc. in a completely traditional calligraphic way.



profit margins for most manufacturers and, in some cases, heavy losses. Some old companies left the PC market while others managed to steer themselves out of this mess to victory like Compaq and new big names in the industry appeared like Gateway 2000. The price wars slowed down towards the end of the year, but they had, by then, guaranteed that you could get your favorite computer for 40 percent less than its cost last year. For a user, this was progress. For most manufacturers it was a disaster.

Multimedia and VR

Multimedia kits comprising sound cards, CD-ROM drives and speakers were flying off the shelves. Hundreds of CD titles became available on the market and multimedia entered homes and businesses as a new form of education, presentation and most importantly, entertainment. Along the same lines, the concept of virtual reality (VR) took

more shape in 1993 with commercially available VR games complete with goggles and gloves to take you into digital worlds where everything is possible! The press has been trumpeting the many applications of VR in every field including medicine, geography, science in general and entertainment.

The battle of operating systems flares with Windows NT

This was the year when users really had to make tough choices regarding which operating system to use.

The battle of operating systems continued with a new heavy weight entrant, Microsoft Windows NT, and more UNIX power since Novell bought Unix rights from Bell Laboratories.

For network managers, it's been a nightmare having to decide between Windows NT, Novell Netware, OS/2 or some dedicated UNIX solution. This sparked a whole new mar-

ket of emulation technologies. Sun were emulating Windows with Wabi and NeXT released NeXTStep for Intel PCs.

The Macintosh and the IBM PC also came closer with Microsoft licensing Windows APIs to anybody including Apple, in the hope that maybe a Mac would run Windows applications one day; not to mention the aspect of the PowerPC operating system, jointly developed by IBM and Apple to run Mac and PC software flawlessly. For the business user, tougher choices are still to come.

For the home users, the choice was quite simple, Macintosh or Windows? The solutions and applications offered were the deciding factors for most users, especially Arabic users who still found the Mac ideal for Arabic DTP and graphics design, and

Arabic Windows ideal for almost everything else! This was the year when software became more important, and more profitable, than hardware.

INTERFACE AND NASSER

Computing in Jordan '93

THE JORDANIAN computer market in 1993 was characterized by a number of regional and international events and phenomena. Still, some things have remained unique to our local market and we have had our own fair share of action.

Many more computers were sold during 1993 than in years before, especially 486 IBM PCs thanks to tumbling international prices which started towards the end of 1992. This meant seeing computers in action in a variety of new fields in the country, or further intensification of computer use in traditional fields. One of the interesting things that did happen was the intensive utilization of computers in the last parliamentary elections.

This year, definitely, was not a year short of computer-related events and activities with a number of shows including the Apple Expo, by Ideal Systems; the SMS show, by the Scientific and Medical Supplies Co.; the American Computer Products Show held at the American Embassy, and the show of shows, the Amman Computer Expo '93, organised by the Jordan Computer Society (JCS). This was the major event which gave visitors the impression that the Jordanian computer industry had grown and expanded, and that future prospects were looking good. The JCS played a central role in many other events, that is, not forgetting the many seminars and social activities it had organized during the year.

On the subject of seminars, conferences and workshops, many were held this year with Microsoft Middle East accounting for a number of them, such as the Visual Basic workshop and the Windows NT training seminar. Also many companies held their own conferences and seminars for new product launches or training purposes.

The field of software development has grown in the country, making it one of the high potential areas for future exports from Jordan to the world. Proving once again, that, even applied to the computer industry, our brains and skills could make up for our lack of financial and material resources.

A software development survey of Jordan, published by The Star back in September, shed some light on the advanced development tools used by our developers and their rather optimistic outlook for the future of software development in Jordan. There have been several new releases, whether in the form of ready-to-use off-the-shelf products such as the Windows Arabization Kit for AutoCAD 12 from ComSoft, MagicFile from AutoGraphics; Al Khazen Al Midhail, and a new updated version of Al Muhassib Al Midhail from IdealSoft. Some customized systems and solutions, sometimes including hardware, have also appeared such as the Voice Processing System from the Jordan Computer Center.

Coverage of the Jordanian computer market in the local press has remained insufficient and their still isn't a monthly, comprehensive Jordanian computer magazine. A number of newspapers have continued to have weekly computer pages, like the one you're holding now, and other newspapers have published occasional computer supplements or specials. But the fact remains that Jordanian users have had to depend on foreign, or regional publications for the technical and market information they may require. This is all not bad, since Arabic computer magazines published in Europe, the Gulf States or Egypt provide needed information on different products and basically what's going on.

Anyway, people working in the computer sector think that, all in all, it was a good year which laid the base for more computerization and expansion of this little market of ours, which has lots of regional potential. 1994 could be the year when international computer companies target Jordan and invest more in its growing computer market. Let's hope, we act upon this properly and get what we deserve. Here's hoping and wishing a happy new year to all.

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Workstation Editor 9314 Amman Jordan

FAIR GAME?

In a variation of the "sport of kings," hunters compete using packs of dogs that chase foxes or other bait animals in pens—25 to 600 acres—enclosed by electric fences. The activity is popular across the Southeast, where at least 250 commercial fox pens are known to be operating. Pen operators pay \$100 to \$165 for bait animals, often imported from other states. North Dakota trappers exported at least 1,328 foxes to pens in 1992.

Smaller member of the dog family, the American red fox stands about 15 inches tall at the shoulders and weighs only 10 to 15 pounds.

Trapping techniques allowed in North Dakota include live traps, leg-hold traps and snares. Trapped animals can be held in private ownership for the purpose of breeding, display, pets or live sale. The state also allows live export and import.

Enclosed pen

Wire overhang

Electrified wires

By number of states

Allow Do not allow

Live trapping possession Live export Live import

21 16 20

*One state did not respond

12/20/93 STORY SLUG: FOXES, Knight-Ridder by Sue-Elynn Scaletta KRT Infographics

Survival Human greed, rivalry dim future of giant pandas

By Lena H. Sun

CHENGDU, China—In the corner of her concrete cell, Qing Qing cradles her tiny panda cub, which is squeaking from hunger. With a gentle nudge from the mother's huge paw, the cub—the size of a small cat—finds a nipple and sucks noisily. After several minutes, it drifts off into a contented sleep.

With luck, this cub may survive, but the outlook for the giant panda, which is native to China, is gloomy. Greed, indifference, bureaucracy, skyrocketing population growth harms its habitat and poaching threaten the survival of the animal that has come to symbolize international conservation, according to Chinese and Western panda experts.

"We can't guarantee that the species will not become extinct," said Fan Zhiyong, senior officer at the Giant Panda Protection Office in Beijing.

According to official figures, there are only about 1,000 pandas left in the mountains of Sichuan, Shaanxi and Gansu provinces. About another 100 are in captivity, most of them in Chinese zoos.

Pandas, with their unusual black-and-white coats, have thrived in China for 3 million years. But in the last 40 years, as the country's population has more than doubled to nearly 1.2 billion, their habitat has been destroyed by peasants and loggers, who cut down forests of bamboo—the panda's main food—or log other trees, leaving the bamboo, which needs shade and moisture, exposed to the sun.

Pandas also have become a lucrative commodity, with their pelts fetching as much as \$10,000 on black markets in Hong Kong, Taiwan and Japan. World zoos pay \$1 million a year to rent a pair of pandas, boosting zoo revenues but disrupting the panda's breeding cycles, critics charge.

Because of the animals' enormous popular appeal and the amount of money involved, the politics of panda conservation are vicious.

"It's the worst politics of any endangered species I've worked with," said Devra Kleiman, assistant director for research at Washington's National Zoo.

An ambitious drive is underway in China and abroad to save the panda. After four years of

consideration, the Chinese government has finally approved a \$100 million, 10-year plan that would double the number of panda reserves, find new jobs for state timber workers who log in the reserves, relocate peasants and establish "green corridors" to link up isolated breeding areas.

The World Wide Fund for Nature, known in the United States as the World Wildlife Fund, is organizing a meeting in Geneva next month to raise money from international development agencies for the Chinese plan.

In February, the American Zoo Association hopes to outline its strategy for raising "tens of millions of dollars" for panda conservation, using long-term breeding loans that would bring the popular animals back into US and Canadian zoos, according to Michael Hutchins, the association's director of conservation and science. The only panda in the United States is the National Zoo's Hsing-Hsing—the surviving male half of a pair given by China to the American people in 1972.

It is uncertain, however, if these measures are in the best interest of the panda, and if they can be funded and put into practice.

The Chinese plan is fuzzy on such critical issues as financial accountability, according to conservation experts. The American zoo program for long-term breeding loans to North American zoos could encourage the Chinese to take pandas out of the wild, where conservation efforts should be concentrated, said biologist George Schaller, who conducted pioneering research on China's wild pandas from 1980 to 1985.

Ultimately, because pandas are native to China, the Chinese have to save the animal. Some skeptics accuse the Chinese of trying to use their unique position to bully other countries and international organizations into going along with Chinese projects, even though money raised in the past has not always been spent on panda conservation, sources said.

"It's a hostage situation," said John MacKinnon, a former official with the World Wide Fund for Nature who now heads a Hong Kong-based conservation group. "The Chinese are pointing a gun to the head of the panda and saying, 'If you want to keep



Pandas: About 1,000 survive in China today

it, fund it. Otherwise we're going to let it go."

During a census of pandas in 1978, the Chinese announced that there were only about 1,000 pandas remaining in the wild, even though, they conceded later, the actual number was much higher.

"That was done to get more world attention," acknowledged a Forestry Ministry official, Fan.

Scientists say that even though there were more pandas than the Chinese officially announced, their numbers have declined greatly in recent years. Since the 1940s, panda habitat has shrunk by half, and hundreds of pandas have been killed by poachers, according to Schaller.

In 1988, China shocked conservationists when it announced the recovery of 146 panda pelts in recent years. China did not pass its first wildlife protection law until 1989. Now, trafficking in or killing pandas is punishable by death, and at least five farmers have been executed.

Besides poachers, one of the panda's biggest enemies is the Chinese bureaucracy. The Ministry of Forestry is in charge of pandas in the wild, and the Ministry of Construction handles pandas in captivity—most of them in zoos. Cooperation between the two has been limited at best. It was only this August that officials from both ministries agreed to attend the same international meeting in the United States to talk about panda conservation, panda experts said.

Within the Forestry Ministry, the conflict is even greater. It is responsible both for protecting pandas and cutting timber. About 60 percent of the money China says it needs for its new panda conservation project is to help find jobs for about 10,000 people living and cutting down trees in reserves, according to Fan.

But past relocation efforts have not with little success. In the protected Wolong panda reserve, despite government efforts to

relocate about 4,000 villagers to new government-built housing, the villagers, most of them minorities, have refused to move and continue to farm and cut timber for firewood.

The split management of pandas has fueled fierce competition for pandas and panda dollars.

Zoos and breeding centers say they need additional funds because they can do a better job of caring for and breeding pandas than can be done in the wild, even though more die in captivity than are born.

Indeed, the panda has one of the highest mortality rates of any endangered species. Sixty percent of the pandas born since China began captive breeding in 1963 have died within the first month. Of the 144 pandas born in captivity, only 43 are still alive, 37 of them in China.

LA Times-Washington Post News Service

Survey on Industry & Services Part II

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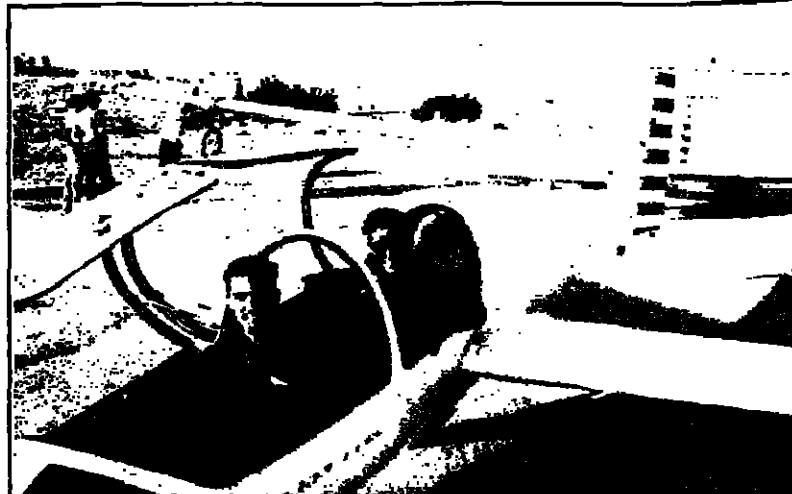
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L'équipe du club est constituée d'anciens pilotes de chasse. A disposition: six planeurs, un motoplaneur et un avion. Dès le deuxième vol, sursaut d'adrénaline assuré lorsque l'instructeur vous laisse la manche entre les mains pour quelques secondes...

Aujourd'hui, le club compte quatre-vingt membres actifs. Devenir membre revient à 200 JD. Il est aussi possible de se faire tracter par un avion pour profiter d'un vol plus long. Pour voler en solo, il faut environ un mois de pratique... Et le ciel est tout à vous!



Bilan

La valse lente des droits de l'homme

Retour sur la Conférence mondiale des droits de l'homme, le mois dernier à Vienne, par Suleiman Sweiss, membre de la délégation des ONG jordaniennes. Témoignage.

LE MOIS dernier, Vienne était bel et bien la capitale mondiale des droits de l'homme. Tout d'abord, du 10 au 12 juin, le Forum mondial était, en quelque sorte, la conférence des organisations non-gouvernementales (ONG). Puis, deux jours après, la Conférence mondiale sur les droits de l'homme, celle des gouvernements (sous les auspices de l'ONU) a pris le relais jusqu'au 25 juin.

Au cours de ces deux semaines, des délégués de toutes les couleurs de peau et de toutes nationalités se sont côtoyés à l'International Austria Centre, siège immense de la Conférence. A la tribune, défilaient les représentants des gouvernements, ceux des ONG (régionales et mondiales), des lauréats de prix Nobel... Tous parlaient des Droits: ceux des femmes, des enfants, des peuples indigènes, des réfugiés, des droits économiques, sociaux et culturels...

Au sous-sol (est-ce par hasard?), les quelques quatre cent cinquante ONG venues des quatre coins du monde exposaient livres, brochures, affiches et diffusaient même des films vidéo sur les violations des droits de l'homme au Cachemire (Inde), au Brésil, en Tunisie, en Irlande du Nord, à Chypre, en Turquie, en Iran, en Birmanie...etc... Une véritable "foire" des droits de l'homme! Mais, une telle rencontre, la



Venues des quatre coins du monde, de nombreuses ONG étaient présentes à Vienne pour défendre leur vision des droits de l'homme.

première depuis la Conférence de Téhéran de 1968, ne se limitait pas à des discours et à des aspects folkloriques. En effet, une véritable confrontation politique avait lieu entre Nord et Sud dans la capitale autrichienne.

La Conférence n'a pas réussi à prendre de décision concrète sur les sujets les plus controversés. Faut-il créer ou non un poste de "haut commissaire des

droits de l'homme" au sein de l'ONU? Faut-il ou non mettre en place une cour internationale pour juger du respect de ces droits? Comment assurer l'augmentation du budget consacré par l'ONU aux activités menées par ses organismes dans le domaine des droits fondamentaux?

Mais, faut-il rappeler que dans ce genre de conférences, organisées par les Nations

Unies, l'échec -tout comme le succès- est relatif? Il faudra peut-être quelques années pour mesurer l'impact des résolutions adoptées par la communauté internationale.

Néanmoins, le document spécial, baptisé "Déclaration de Vienne et plan d'action pour les droits de l'homme", constitue une arme morale, juridique et politique importante aux mains des ONG et des peuples du

monde. On y insiste sur les droits des femmes et on y reconnaît que la pauvreté est un obstacle à la conquête et à l'exercice des droits de l'homme.

Les deux délégations jordaniennes, gouvernementale et non-gouvernementale, furent actives. La délégation officielle participait dans les débats des commissions de la Conférence. Les ONG ont animé plusieurs débats sur "le double standard" dans le domaine des droits de l'homme et ont distribué une brochure sur la situation de ces droits en Jordanie.

Les Etats francophones, malgré quelques divergences entre eux, étaient présents et leur rôle fut efficace. Deux quotidiens en français, "Egalité" et "Vivre autrement", sont d'ailleurs parus tout au long de la Conférence.

La déclaration de Stéphane Hessel, chef de la délégation française, résume bien l'ambiance et l'espoir mitigé qui régnait dans la capitale autrichienne: "Soyons réalistes: nous n'allons pas changer le monde, nous essayons de rendre aux peuples du monde un peu plus de développement et de justice". Bref, la Conférence de Vienne a terminé ses travaux, mais la lutte pour les droits de l'homme se poursuit!

Suleiman Sweiss

Les ONG en première ligne

A VIENNE, les grands principes, comme l'universalité des droits de l'homme, ont été préservés. Soit. Mais, le texte final, concocté par les gouvernements, se distingue surtout par son absence d'avancées concrètes. Une déception pour de nombreux militants des mille cinq cents organisations non-gouvernementales présentes à Vienne.

Pour les ONG, les gouvernements ont "manqué de vision". Amnesty International parle même d'"échec". Face au dynamisme de ces organisations -partout dans le monde, les diplomates ont semblé bien pâles. Seules les femmes, particulièrement actives lors de la Conférence, ont enregistré une avancée avec la reconnaissance de droits spécifiques -et la nomination d'un rapporteur spécial sur les violations de leurs droits.

Le grand enseignement de ces deux semaines viennoises est donc la vitalité des organisations non-gouvernementales de défense des droits de l'homme. Principalement les ONG locales. Celles-ci vont d'ailleurs tenter de faire vivre un réseau couvrant l'ensemble de la planète avec la création d'un "comité de l'après-Vienne".

Les Nations Unies ont été placées sur la défensive par l'action des ONG. Toutes les idées neuves ont été avancées par celles-ci. Si nous pouvons maintenir la dynamique, notre voix sera la plus forte", estimait Reed Brody, coordinateur des ONG, à la fin de la Conférence. Cette consécration de leur action apporte une note d'optimisme à une réunion internationale particulièrement difficile.

L'activité des organisations jordaniennes participe bien de cette dynamique. Rappelons qu'à l'occasion de cette conférence, les ONG du Royaume s'étaient organisées dans un comité d'action commun. Six mois de travaux ensemble leur avaient ainsi permis de définir des positions communes et des propositions réfléchies à Vienne.

La Conférence mondiale n'a certes pas tenu toutes ses promesses, mais comme le confiait un militant d'une ONG: "Nous repartons d'ici avec beaucoup d'énergie". Une énergie précieuse dans des pays où le respect des droits fondamentaux n'est qu'un vœu.

F.C.

Jordanie Express

BANQUE - La perspective d'ouverture de succursales dans les Territoires occupés par des banques commerciales dupe la Bourse. L'Amman Financial Market a battu son record de volume quotidien d'affaires, la semaine dernière. Au moins deux banques, Bank of Jordan et Arab Land Bank, se préparent officiellement à leur arrivée dans les Territoires, à la faveur d'un progrès dans le processus de paix.

PRESSE - Un nouveau quotidien en arabe a reçu l'autorisation de paraître dès septembre prochain. Intitulé "Al Mithaq", le journal s'intéressera surtout à l'information économique. Mustapha Abu Libdeh, journaliste jordanien, sera le rédacteur en chef de ce quatrième quotidien en arabe du Royaume.

FOUILLES - Le site romain du 1er siècle après J.C. découvert récemment en basse-ville, près de la Central Bank, ne pourra être restauré sur place. La voie bordée de colonnes est enfouie sous des immeubles modernes. Le département des Antiquités a donc décidé de transporter les blocs au musée de la citadelle pour être préservés.

DÉMISSION - Le maire de la municipalité du Grand Amman, Mohammad Al Bashir, a démissionné de son poste. Cette décision pourrait s'expliquer par la volonté de Mohammad Al Bashir de se présenter aux prochaines élections législatives.

Télévision

La guerre du satellite

Recevoir les chaînes satellite par micro-ondes ou sur une parabole "made in Jordan": deux surprises de Satellite-expo. Visite guidée d'un marché en explosion où la concurrence fait rage.

MICRO-ONDES n'est pas forcément synonyme de four à cuisson ultra-rapide... Dès octobre prochain, la télévision micro-ondes débarquera à Amman. Promoteur de ce réseau d'un nouveau type: la télévision jordanienne. Le système Multi Microwave Distribution System (MMDS) - a été officiellement présenté au public, cette semaine, à Satellite-expo, deuxième du genre.

Un an après la légalisation des paraboles satellite dans le Royaume, les étranges coupes continuent de fleurir à vive allure sur les toits. La demande est énorme, seuls les prix limitent l'avidité d'images de Jordaniens. Une visite de Satellite-expo prouve que c'est vers les classes moyennes et populaires que les professionnels cathodiques lorgnent aujourd'hui.

Le système dévoilé par la JTV est ainsi alléchant pour les petits budgets. L'installation d'une antenne "spéciale micro-ondes", d'un décodeur et d'un décodeur sera facturé 250 JD. Ensuite, l'abonnement mensuel pour six chaînes coûtera 20 JD. Rien à voir avec les 1000 à 6000 JD à déboursier pour se munir d'une parabole de réception directe.

Le bouquet des chaînes diffusées n'est pas encore déterminé, distribue actuellement



Paraboles de réception directe et antennes micro-ondes vont livrer bataille à la rentrée sur les toits d'Amman.

un questionnaire pour connaître les préférences des futurs téléspectateurs. Au choix: CNN,

Euronews, Eurosport, Jordan space channel, MTV...etc... A noter, deux chaînes franco-

phones pourraient faire partie du panel proposé: TV5 et Canal France International. Les francophones doivent donc se manifester rapidement pour espérer les voir diffusées par micro-ondes.

Devant cette nouvelle concurrence, les vendeurs de paraboles de réception directe demeurent sereins. Chez Inter-Sat, l'argument claque: "Nos clients veulent surtout éviter toute censure sur les programmes télévisés. Or, avec ce système de redistribution par micro-ondes, les autorités pourront toujours décider de stopper la diffusion d'une chaîne si celle-ci va à l'encontre de leurs intérêts".

Cette petite société a aussi choisi pour cible les foyers à revenus moyens en fabriquant elle-même le matériel de réception. Premier prix: 799 JD. Cette petite parabole fixe permet de recevoir une poignée de chaînes, essentiellement européennes, qui émettent en C Band. Le modèle mobile, à 1199 JD, offre toute la palette des 35 canaux qui diffusent en ce format.

Pour ceux qui veulent capter Arabsat ou des chaînes américaines, comme CNN, la taille de la parabole et son prix augmentent immédiatement. A partir de 2500 JD chez Satellite World. Là, le matériel est exclusivement importé. Les taxes

et les tracasseries administratives pèsent lourdement dans l'addition. "Pour chaque appareil que nous importons, on nous inflige un véritable marathon d'autorisations administratives", déplore Bassam Hatahet, cadre de Satellite World. "Nous employons une personne à plein temps pour effectuer toutes les démarches nécessaires".

Autre obstacle à un business en apparence juteux: une concurrence sauvage entre la vingtaine de revendeurs de paraboles de la capitale. "Beaucoup se sont lancés dans le marché du satellite sans aucune expérience antérieure en électronique", affirme Bassam Hatahet. "Ils cassent les prix mais ne tiendront pas plus de six mois".

Pour le moment, la réception de chaînes satellite demeure donc un luxe réservé aux classes aisées. Mais, la démocratisation est en marche. Si le désir des Jordaniens pour ces chaînes étrangères existe bel et bien, le système de diffusion par micro-ondes est promis à un joli succès, tout comme les paraboles "made in Jordan". Mais, dans la jungle actuelle de ce marché, les prévisions restent hasardeuses.

F.C.

Etude

La santé, l'enjeu du futur

Le rapport 93 de la Banque mondiale est consacré à l'état sanitaire du monde. Une priorité: investir dans la santé.

LETAT SANITAIRE et le développement sont deux notions intimement liées. La santé des populations est un facteur déterminant qui conditionne le progrès économique et l'amélioration de la productivité. Pour son seizième rapport sur le développement, le thème de la santé s'imposait donc à la Banque mondiale.

Le premier constat de cette volumineuse étude est encourageant. Au cours des quarante dernières années, l'état sanitaire des populations s'est amélioré comme jamais depuis le début de l'histoire de l'humanité. Dans le monde en développement, l'espérance de vie est passée de 40 à 63 ans. La mortalité infantile a été divisée par trois et des fléaux mortels, telle la variole, ont été entièrement vaincus.

Mais, le triomphe n'est pas de mise. Bien des signaux sanitaires demeurent dans le rouge dans les pays les plus pauvres. Chaque année, sept millions d'adultes et deux millions d'enfants meurent d'affections qui auraient pu être guéries ou évitées à peu de frais. A elle seule, la tuberculose, par exemple, cause deux millions de décès.

De plus, le monde est confronté aujourd'hui à de nouveaux défis. D'ici à l'an 2000, le tribut de plus en plus lourd payé au SIDA dans les pays en développement pourrait facilement dépasser les 1,8 millions de morts par an, effaçant ainsi les gains de réduction de mortalité obtenus au terme de décennies d'efforts...

La résistance accrue de certaines maladies, comme le paludisme, et les ravages causés par le tabac apparaissent comme les deux autres grands problèmes du futur. Pour la Banque mondiale, les systèmes de santé en vigueur sont loin d'être préparés à relever ces défis. L'essentiel des dépenses de santé est dilapidé pour de piteux résultats. Principalement, l'état finance de coûteux traitements de faible efficacité à destination des populations aisées, tandis que les plus pauvres n'ont pas accès aux soins de base.

Pour y remédier, le rapport livre une série de recommandations à destination des gouvernements pour réorganiser leurs systèmes sanitaires. Tout d'abord, la situation économique et le degré d'instruction sont les clés de l'état de santé

de la population. La poursuite d'une politique de croissance économique et l'investissement dans la scolarisation, en particulier des filles, sont prioritaires.

Deuxièmement, les dépenses publiques doivent être améliorées pour suppléer aux défaillances du marché et financer les services à destination des plus pauvres. Des études prouvent que l'allocation de 2% des dépenses de santé mondiales à des services de base permettrait de réduire d'un quart le fardeau des maladies.

Enfin, la Banque mondiale encourage les Etats à promouvoir la diversité et la concurrence dans la fourniture de services de santé et dans le secteur de l'assurance. Le rapport ne cache pas que la réforme des politiques gouvernementales de santé se heurtera à de nombreuses résistances. Mais pour les pays qui accepteront de modifier leur politique, la Banque mondiale fait déjà miroiter la manne de l'aide internationale.

F.C.



Machines rule the US Open

AS USUAL, there's no shortage of grumbling and cursing at the linesmen at this year's Wimbledon. But come the US Open, those complaints will fall on deaf ears.

That's because the United States Tennis Association has announced that machines — not living, breathing linesmen — will rule the roost on its 4 show courts during the upcoming open, which starts August 30 at Flushing Meadows, New York.

The Tel-System, an electronic line-calling device designed to eliminate human error, will be determining fair balls from ones that stray. Instead of 10 officials, the 4 courts will only require four — the umpire, a net cord judge and 2 foot-fault judges.

It's a Utopian concept that could render the perfectly officiated match, yet reaction to the Open's bold move to bring 21st Century technology to tennis is receiving decidedly mixed reviews from the players at Wimbledon.

"I don't think it's a good idea," said Goran Ivanisevic, last year's losing Wimbledon finalist and a guy who's been known to raise his temper on court. "It's more fun if you have someone to tell something to. With machines you can't do

anything. I think it's going to change the game. But what can you do? You have to go out there, play and beat a machine."

Pete Sampras doesn't like it, either. He says the fans will miss those temper tantrums that have become a part of the game.

"I think it takes a lot of the personality out of the game," the World No 1 said. "That's why people come to watch tennis — the way people react to different situations, with line calls and the outbursts."

Surprisingly, John McEnroe, the man who made such outbursts an art form, has praised the technological improvement. "I think it's a good idea," said McEnroe, told NBC's Wimbledon coverage, "I think it enhances tennis because it focuses more on the tennis."

The biggest concern for most players is an unfamiliarity with the new system. Many think it should undergo a few trial runs at smaller events.

"I can't imagine them trying that at the US Open," said Andre Agassi. "I think they should try it somewhere else first. Players also voiced concern that the system will not be used on all the courts at the Open, which could mean having to adjust from machine to man and back several times during the tournament. The player can lose confidence in linesmen, but maybe have confidence in the machines."

Zambians stuns Moroccans to stay on course

ZAMBIA EMERGED from the aircraft tragedy that killed 18 players to upset Morocco 2-1 in an African Zone World Cup Soccer qualifier last week and remained on course for a place in next year's finals.

Zambia, forced to rebuild their national team after the April aircraft crash when the squad was enroute to a World Cup tie, rode an emotional roller coaster coming from a goal down to secure victory in Lusaka and go top of Group B.

The match was one of 3 key African qualifiers at the weekend that also saw Zimbabwe and Nigeria claim their first point in the second round group matches. Zimbabwe sneaked a late goal to beat Cameroon 1-0 in Harare last week, while Nigeria thrashed Algeria 4-1 in Lagos.

Zambia were playing their first competitive match since the military aircraft carrying their team and coaching staff for a scheduled World Cup match in Senegal exploded in mid-air off the coast of Gabon.

Their new-look team which



included several European-based players who were not on the aircraft, where given a standing ovation by a capacity home crowd before the match. They made a nervous start and fell behind to a long range effort by Moroccan midfielder Rachidi Daoudi in the 16th minute.

But roared on by their sup-

porters in the second half Zambia scored twice inside 7 minutes to win the match. Dutch-based captain Kalusha Bwalya netted from a free kick on the hour and then Johnston Bwalya, who plays for FC Bulle in Switzerland scored the winner. "It was a fabulous performance," said coach Freddie Mwila in a telephone interview.

"The team played a marvelous game. It was just the start we needed. But we are keeping our feet on the ground. We still have three matches to play before we can start thinking about qualifying," Mwila added.

Across the border in Harare, Zimbabwe opened their second round

minutes from time for Zimbabwe's victory. It was Sawu's sixth goal of the qualifying campaign and means that all 3 teams in the group, which also includes Guinea, are equal on points at the halfway stage.

Nigerian striker Rachidi Yekini scored twice as Nigeria beat Algeria in Group A to restore their hopes of a first-ever World Cup appearance. Nigeria, who lost their opening second match against Ivory Coast in May, fell behind after just five minutes to the youthful Algerians when Abdelhafid Tassafout intercepted a pass and ran on to score.

But German-based midfielder Augustine Okocha, winning only his second cap, put Nigeria on level from a free kick in the 14th minute before Yekini struck twice to give Nigeria a 2-goal lead at half-time. Daniela Amokachi of Belgian Club FC Brugge, scored from a goal-mouth scramble for Nigeria's fourth goal late in the game. Ivory Coast still lead Nigeria by one point in the standings.

Courier: Nobody is perfect in this world

● A BRITISH reporter asked Courier if he thought his parents would be proud of his son for shouting because of losing a couple of points.

"I think my parents are proud," Courier responded. "Nobody's perfect in this world. If we were, it would be pretty boring. It was not the forest time in the tournament. What do you want me to say? Are you perfect? By no means. Then don't ask any question. Keep your mouth shut, all right? Don't get abusive. You are getting abusive to me."

In fact, Courier's mother, Linda, watched the finals from



courtside and acknowledged her son occasionally loses his cool. "He gets his red hair from his dad," she said, "and his temper from both of us."

New York marathon to offer bonuses

● New York City Marathon organizers announced last week that US citizens who finish in the top five will receive cash bonuses, including \$100,000 for winning. American men and women who finish in the top five in the Nov. 14 race will receive double the normal prize money, currently \$20,000 for the first place, \$15,000 for second, \$10,000 for third, \$5,000 for fourth and \$2,500 for fifth. Thus an American winner could earn \$140,000. Other incentives include ones based on timing, weather and age and available to all nationalities.



"We are offering this additional \$100,000 bonus to generate more interest and, hopefully, success among American runners," said Field Director Fred Lebow.

Major supports for Manchester

BRITISH PRIME Minister John Major said he will travel to Monte Carlo to support Manchester's bid for the 2000 Olympics when the International Olympic Committee (IOC) votes on Sept. 23. Major told a group of IOC members at a reception that he planned to support Bob Scott, head of the Manchester bid, in Monte Carlo. "This is a bid I wish to see succeed and I want to be in Monte Carlo to help Bob Scott," September," Major said.



Sydney and Beijing are the front runners to stage the 2000 Games.

Asian League poises for launch

● AN INTERNATIONAL Basketball League involving teams from Asia and Australia is expected to become a reality within the next four weeks, organizers said last week. For Asian cities — Hong Kong, Kuala Lumpur, Singapore and Manila — are poised to join Perth and Cairns in Queensland's far north in the new competition. The six franchises, each paying a \$100,000 licence fee, have been given until July 31 to join the league, due to begin in December. Alan Marshall, director of Pacrim Leisure, which is partly owned by Basketball Australia, the sport's National Controlling Body, said "If it doesn't start in Dec., I am 100 percent sure it will happen in 1994."



His Royal Highness Prince Ali attended the match that was played at Al Hassan Stadium in Irbid.

Al Faisali wins the Cups' Cup

● LAST FRIDAY Al Faisali made their victory over Al Wihdat. When they defeated them 2-1 in their postponed match and won the Cups' Cup Championship.



Gifts Corner releases new men's cologne

Gifts Corner, a subsidiary of Ibrahim and Khaled Abu Shaqra have launched a new men's cologne, Horizon, from Guy Laroche.

In a conference held on Wednesday at the InterContinental Hotel, a representative from Guy Laroche unveiled the new product before press and retail representatives. The makers of Horizon describe their product as the epitome of the spirit of the 1990s combining both sweetness, vitality and warmth together with Indian grass and tree moss with musk tender touches, all producing a fresh breath of air.

Horizon bottle is seen as work of art made of glittering blue glass cut from crystal — a dedication to nature. The conference was attended by Mr Khaled and Miss Abeer Abu Shaqra in addition to Mr Philip Agrou and Mr Rabah Hijawi from InterMarkets/Jordan agents for Guy Laroche.

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ROYAL JORDANIAN

WORD WISE

Q: Once and for all, is it "between you and I" or "between you and me"?

A: Me is something of a dirty word in this case. People seem to go to lengths to avoid it. But it is the correct word to use. In his book, "The Careful Writer," Theodore M. Bernstein calls using "I" in this context the same as a social climber extending her pinky at tea, or pretentious overkill.

Send questions or comments for Word Wise to P.O. Box 4367, Orlando, Fla. 32802-4367.

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